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Porter R. Lee

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE *of* SOCIAL WORK

[FORMERLY NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION]

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AT THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION HELD IN
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JUNE 26–JULY 3, 1929

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FOREWORD

THE Executive Committee of the Conference presents herewith the volume of the *Proceedings* for the 1929 meeting. Attention is called to two new features, the change in the type and binding of the *Proceedings* and the abridgment of the material, which it is hoped will make the volume more readable and useful. The Executive Committee placed responsibility for the editorial work on the volume with a special Editorial Committee authorized a year ago with power to carry out the mandates of the Executive Committee. The Editorial Committee was as follows: chairman, Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati; Miss Jane M. Hoey, New York; Miss Joanna C. Colcord, New York; and the following persons serving ex officio, Porter R. Lee, president of the 1929 Conference; Howard R. Knight, editor of the *Proceedings;* and Mrs. Bertha Freeman Hooper, assistant editor.

The Editorial Committee, accepting the responsibility placed upon it by the Executive Committee, had a difficult task, not so much in deciding what material should be included as what of necessity must be omitted. The fact that a paper given at the Conference may not be found among those published in the *Proceedings* should not be interpreted as any reflection on the value of that paper to the Conference. A speaker might desire, for instance, to report on a local project in some field related to social work, or to give a résumé for the benefit of a local audience of material already included in earlier volumes of the *Proceedings*. The value of such papers, at the time when and the place where they were given, is beyond question in stimulating thought and discussion, although considerations of space, general applicability, permanent value, and previous information on the same subject may have led to their being omitted or abridged in the volume of the *Proceedings*.

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GENERAL SESSIONS

SOCIAL WORK: CAUSE AND FUNCTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Porter R. Lee, Director, New York School of Social Work,
New York City

SOCIAL work in 1929 is a developing force in a changing world. From a movement dominated largely by motives it has developed into a movement in which motives compete for dominance with intellectual conviction. Fifty years ago charity was the mainspring of social work. Today its driving power is a conception of social welfare. The whole significance of this development is yet to be understood. In the present discussion I shall attempt only to sharpen some of the questions which it raises.

In order to provide a background for this discussion, I should like to interpret social work as having had, both in its historical and in its modern forms, the characteristics of a Cause; and to interpret its development during recent decades as having added to its character as a Cause the character of a Function of well-organized community life.

A cause is usually a movement directed toward the elimination of an intrenched evil. This may seem a narrow conception, since many of the historic causes of mankind have been directed toward the establishment of a new way of meeting human need or a new opportunity for human satisfaction. Nevertheless, when the origin of such causes is considered, it seems to be true that they have been inspired more frequently by a desire to get rid of evils than by a desire to bring in a specific new order of things. By way of illustration, the struggle for democracy may be interpreted as a cause. But James Bryce tells us that

> neither the conviction that power is better entrusted to the people nor the desire of the average man to share in the government of his own community has in fact been

a strong force inducing political change. Popular government has been usually sought and won and valued not as a good thing in itself but as a means of getting rid of tangible grievances or securing tangible benefits.[1]

Whether we emphasize the elimination of evil or the establishment of a positive good as the objective of the cause, it seems to be true that once the elimination of the evil is accomplished, once the new positive good is established, interest in it is likely to slacken. The momentum of the cause will never carry over adequately to the subsequent task of making its fruits permanent. The slow methodical organized effort needed to make enduring the achievement of the cause calls for different motives, different skill, different machinery. At the moment of its success, the cause tends to transfer its interest and its responsibility to an administrative unit whose responsibility becomes a function of well-organized community life.

In the sense in which I am using the term, charity in its origin and in its finest expression represents a cause. The organized administration of relief, under whatever auspices, has become a function. The campaigns to obtain widows' pensions and workmen's compensation have many of the aspects of the cause. The administration of these benefits has become a function of organized community life in most American states. The settlement movement began as a cause, and the activities of many of its representatives still give it that character. In general, however, it has developed as a function of community life. The abolition of child labor has been, and still is, a cause. As the result of its success as a cause, it again has become a well-established function in many American states.

A cause is usually the concern only of those individuals who accept its appeal and who are willing to devote themselves to its furtherance. Its adherents may believe their cause to be so essentially right that all mankind should rally to it. There is, however, no obligation upon any individual to do so unless he wishes to. A function, on the other hand, implies an organized effort incorporated into the machinery of community life in the discharge of which the acquiescence at least, and ultimately the support of the entire community is assumed.

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[1] James Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, p. 41. Macmillan Co., 1921.

Since cause and function are both carried on by human agents, they make use of the same human characteristics. Nevertheless, their emphases are different and their demands in the long run require different combinations of human qualities. Zeal is perhaps the most conspicuous trait in adherents to the cause, while intelligence is perhaps most essential in those who administer a function. The emblazoned banner and the shibboleth for the cause, the program and the manual for the function; devoted sacrifice and the flaming spirit for the cause, fidelity, standards, and methods for the function; an embattled host for the cause, an efficient personnel for the function.

We may now abandon this flight into rhetoric and come back to the practical consideration of current social work; but I hope we may bring with us a conviction that this rhetorical contrast has a measure of validity. For an outstanding problem of social work at the present time is that of developing its service as a function of well-organized community life without sacrificing its capacity to inspire in men enthusiasm for a cause.

The change in the nature of social work from that of cause to that of function has aroused apprehension in many minds. As one writer has reminded us, "The curse of the poor is still their poverty," but as compared with an earlier day the voices which are proclaiming this fact have rather less of the clarion quality. There are still deeply rooted evils concerning which the American public everywhere not only needs to be informed and organized but needs also to be aroused. Moreover, both in the ranks of the general public and in the ranks of social work there are those who have apparently been lulled by the very bulk of our diversified efforts to promote social welfare into a feeling that little remains to be done to bring in the millennium, except the unhampered prosecution of these efforts. In this situation it is not to be wondered at that some persons with the temperament of the prophet rather than that of the executive deplore the preoccupation of social workers with organization, technique, standards, and efficiency which have followed the development of social work from cause to function.

The development of social work from cause to function was inevitable; it was also indispensable to the permanence of its own great contribution as a cause. Once the objective of a cause is reached, it can be made permanent only by a combination of organization and education. The effort to put its results into effect must be maintained over a long period. As compared with the dash and drive necessary to achieve those results, this subsequent effort is humdrum and routine. Its chief reliance may have to be upon routineers and experts, whereas the chief reliance of the cause may have been upon inspired leaders. It is natural that this subsequent period of organization and technical effort should seem to have abandoned most of the zeal which characterized the cause. Zeal alone, however, is a frail equipment for those who are genuinely interested in human welfare. Its fluctuations are great. Organization and technical efficiency are by no means guaranties of sound social programs; but they are, on the whole, as valuable contributions to human progress as the zeal and idealism which inspire them. A modern historian, after noting the influence of the Roman governmental organization upon the English church, has proceeded to discuss the centuries following the Roman occupation of Britain, during which the zeal of the church which had blazed militantly during preceding centuries deteriorated almost to the point of extinction. It did not die out completely because, as he says, "Good organization can survive periodic lapses in zeal."[2] The functional development of social work may be interpreted therefore as essential to the permanence of its results as a cause.

This conception of the development of social work from cause to function has some practical implications. Its most important significance, in my judgment, lies in the field of motivation. As a cause, a movement secures solidarity and force from its inherently dramatic appeal. The motives of those who enlist in a cause, whatever their derivation, come to a focus in a personal *ought* to help. The motives of those who support a function come to focus in a community *ought* to provide a service. The motives which lead men to support a function as an obligation of citizenship are in no sense lower or less worthy than those which lead men to enlist in a cause. They are likely, however, to be less personal, less dynamic and less dramatic in their expression. The appeal of the cause is to the sympathy of men, to their sense of justice, to their humanitarian instincts. The appeal of the function may reach all three but it does so less directly. It depends much more upon reaching the intelligence of men and their sense of social obligation. In the long run, I doubt whether any substantial functional development can be supported by an appeal directed chiefly to the motives which support causes. Social work must decrease relatively its reliance upon sentiment and increase relatively its reliance upon an intellectual conviction on the part of its supporters.

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[2] G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England*, p. 61. Longmans, Green & Co., 1928.

The recent record of social work affords a great deal of evidence that this change in the basis of its appeal is already in process, for much of preventive social work and much of our research program could have been accepted and supported only on the basis of intellectual conviction. Sentiment does not readily respond to the appeal of prevention or research.

We may carry the significance of this change still farther. The successful development of intellectual conviction in the public which supports social work inevitably means that social work comes under increasingly critical scrutiny from those who support it. A movement of the cause type can enlist support from anyone who believes in its program and has faith in its leaders. If its active personnel are satisfied with its results, its adherents are likely to be. As a functional agency, on the other hand, the organization which expects support must prove its case. Zeal is no longer a sole test of merit; efficiency is asked for.

To the community as a whole a cause may be justified by the faith and purpose of its adherents. A function must be justified by demonstrated possibilities of achievement.

At this point we may well ask whether we are not attempting to carry on functionalized social work with many of the habits, methods, and machinery which are more appropriate to the cause. If we are, we may be crippling ourselves by the use of equipment which is not adapted to our changing responsibility. It is characteristic of the cause that it tends to overstate the possibility of results. Most advocates claim more for their favorite projects than those projects can reasonably be expected to deliver. In so far as we continue to justify social work in terms exclusively of faith in its program, we are relying in a sense upon the philosophy and the ethical basis of the cause. I realize that reliance upon the cause philosophy is still necessary because to a large extent the American public needs to be aroused as well as informed. I realize that the American public in its support of social work responds more generously, both in attention and money, to a sentimental than to an intellectual appeal. Nevertheless, the establishment of social work as a function, necessary as it is to insure the permanence of its fine results as a cause, changes radically the relationship of social workers, both professional and lay, to the public. If I were to put this change into a sentence, I would say that the historic obligation of social workers to the public for leadership had changed to an obligation for leadership supplemented by accountability. In discharging the obligation of accountability we may easily put an unnecessary strain upon the community's acceptance of our leadership by a tendency to claim more than we can perform through a desire to be uncompromisingly cosmic instead of being for part of the time at least reasonably but idealistically mundane.

The confusion between cause and function in the status of social work will perhaps become more evident if we examine some of our current practices. I have selected three for illustration. Prevention as a leading objective in social work is not new.

It has steadily gained in force and we are beginning to accumulate convincing evidence of its possibilities, chiefly in the field of public health. In a world which had accustomed itself to the acceptance of misery as a part of the divine order of things, the campaign to establish prevention as a practicable objective has had many of the aspects of a cause. The practical working out of preventive programs has all of the aspects of a function. It may be questioned whether our zeal for prevention has not, in some ways, loaded the philosophy of prevention with a greater expectancy of results than can at present be achieved. We hear it said with increasing frequency that prevention is cheaper than cure. It is certainly better than cure and on the face of it prevention ought to be cheaper, but we are far from being able to demonstrate that it is always cheaper. For one thing, the costs of cure are probably more definitely measurable than are the costs of prevention. This is because, except within narrow limits, we do not know what a preventive program implies.

Certainly, thus far preventive social work has revealed some new problems as difficult to handle as those which it has seemed to prevent. No small amount of the work which is now being done, both by curative and by preventive agencies, has developed as a by-product of preventive work. Workmen's compensation is not wholly a preventive measure, but it has had some important preventive aspects. So far as I know, no estimate has been made of the comparative costs of compensation and the costs of the former haphazard methods of dealing with industrial accidents. The financial costs of compensation may be less. Even if they were not, the gains, ethical and otherwise, would have been worth the increased cost. Nevertheless, workmen's compensation has not been undiluted gain. These laws have certainly complicated the problem of the old man in industry, for they have been one factor in making him ineligible for employment.

Does good social work create the necessity for more social work? I am inclined to think it does, and nowhere is this more evident than at the point where preventive work is applied. After many decades of advocating prison reform as social work's dominant note in the field of delinquency, we have in recent years placed increasing emphasis upon the prevention of crime. Will the prevention of crime be cheaper than cure? Probably it will, partly because there has been too little cure in spite of the huge sums spent on the custody of the criminal. But prevention of crime involves factors so enormously complex that we cannot even be sure what they are. The reform school, the juvenile court, the probation system, organized recreation, vocational training, the psychiatric clinic, and that unstable but promising adolescent, "character-building activities," have all in their time been conceived as contributions toward the prevention of crime. Practically all of them have made demonstrable contributions to this end, but crime is still with us.

Does all this lead to the conclusion that our faith in prevention is unjustified? Not at all. The abolition of poverty, the prevention of crime, the elimination of preventable disease, the reduction of industrial handicaps to the worker are causes. They need no justification save their own inherent appeal to the justice and enlightened social consciences of men. If experience counts for anything, however, the complete achievement of these objectives is still far in the future. Before they are reached we shall have to follow a long, slow program of functional experiment and practice. Prevention will bring us closer to the millennium than cure ever can; but that millennium is not just around the corner. Nor can we assume that for every evil which we are now trying to cure, piecemeal fashion, a sure-fire program of prevention can as yet be offered. Neither, I submit, can we be sure that the cost of keeping evils prevented, if I may be permitted so awkward a phrase, will in every case be cheaper than cure. In both its preventive and its curative efforts, social work has demonstrated a capacity to assist civilized society to find its way out of its uncivilized habits. We may be doing an injustice to this capacity of social work by seeming to offer a more rapid and less costly rate of progress toward that end than is humanly possible.

It is part of functional responsibility that its problems be accurately measured, that the facilities required for its task be accurately estimated, and that its operation be not impeded by overloading its machinery because its supporters have an unreasonable expectation of results. The expectations of the public in terms of the results of social work are largely those which social workers themselves suggest. I have already stated that an overestimate of possible results seems to be inevitable in the promotion of a cause. It can easily be a grave handicap in the discharge of a function. The distinction is relatively easy to make but exceedingly difficult to apply in practice. The effort to apply it, however, can hardly fail to strengthen the status of functional social work. It can hardly fail, either, to conserve the interest of the public in the validity of causes.

Like the emphasis upon prevention, the use of the demonstration is a method of long standing in social work which has recently come into more active use. The principle of the demonstration involves the establishment of a new service in a community, sometimes carried on under more or less tentative administrative and financial auspices, until its permanent value is so apparent that it will be established by the community as a part of its permanent social equipment. Demonstrations by that name have been most conspicuous perhaps in the fields of public health, mental hygiene, and recreation. The demonstration, however, has long been a recognized function of private agencies in many fields as a preliminary to the transfer of specific services to governmental auspices. For the purpose of this discussion, also, I am assuming that much of the extension work carried on by national organizations in new communities is like the demonstration in nature.

The value of the demonstration cannot be questioned. Properly used it insures earlier attention to community needs than would otherwise be given. It saves many communities the loss of time, money, and enthusiasm which the delays and mistakes of the trial and error method of organization frequently involve.

It is logical to read into the philosophy of the demonstration that its ultimate development means the spread of specific services until they reach all those who have need of them. Once the value of a treatment service or of a preventive program has been demonstrated then its spread, so we reason, ought not to stop until every person and every community have received their benefits. The demonstration is a functional device whereby the objectives of many of our causes can be brought nearer to complete realization.

This logical extension of the demonstration principle raises some questions. Do the two factors of qualified personnel and financial resources put a limit upon its practicable extension? Perhaps not, but an interest in functional efficiency would seem to suggest that we face the question, however much our zeal in the cause of human welfare may blind us to its practical importance.

The problem of personnel is already acute. All professions, the older ones and many new ones, are competing for personnel. Some of the older ones may be overcrowded, but none is overcrowded with really able practitioners. The functional demands of modern social work call for no less insight and leadership than did the older type of social work, but they require in addition a scientific foundation and a trained capacity for efficient practice. The modern social worker, as compared with his or her predecessors, is meeting more exacting demands for performance, is assuming a more specific type of responsibility, is meeting with fair success more intricate and elusive problems. But at his best the social worker does not exist in sufficient numbers to meet the demand for him.

This excess of demand over supply for competent social workers may be interpreted as one evidence that good social work creates the necessity for more social work. We may concede that the extension demand for new developments in unorganized fields has been to some extent artificially stimulated, but it must nevertheless be true that the remarkable spread of social work to new areas is largely the result of demonstrated achievement. So far it is a justification of social work both as cause and as function. But our very success may imperil both our functional efficiency and our leadership if we try to develop opportunities for service beyond our resources in qualified personnel. I realize that those agencies responsible for the finding and placing of personnel are alive to this dilemma. The answer is not easy. Would it strengthen or weaken the status of social work if we put ourselves on record as being willing to make use of the demonstration and extension principles only to the extent that we can support them with qualified personnel?

What about the costs of social work? How much social welfare can we afford? There are several quick answers to this question. The chests talk about "the saturation point." The professional money raisers tell us that there is no limit provided the cause is legitimate and the campaign properly organized. Some of us believe that, whatever our resources, we cannot afford to stop our efforts to rid the world of evil, no matter what expenditures for luxuries need to be curtailed or what new methods of money raising need to be devised in order to find the ways and means.

The question has both theoretical and practical implications. The budget idea has not yet been applied to the total expenditures of a nation. But in the long run a nation, like a family, cannot spend more than it earns without sooner or later seeing its standard of living come down with a crash. If we may judge by the steady increase in the wealth of this nation and by the increase also in the sums which the American people make available for social welfare, we have not begun to exhaust our resources for such purposes. Thus far, however, we seem to have assumed that the sources of support are inexhaustible. We have devoted ourselves to the task of devising measures which will promote sounder, more wholesome life, confidently content to place the responsibility for financing them where Alexander Hamilton placed the responsibility for financing the national debt of our first government—on the broad backs of the American people.

I believe this question to be important for social workers because I think we have never faced the cost of the logical extension of our demonstration programs to all those persons in American communities who might benefit by them. Some of these services, like vaccination, are relatively inexpensive. Others, like treatment for personality disorders, are enormously expensive. In between and outside and all around are services and potential benefits in health, in economic security, in education, in cultural opportunity, representing all degrees of costliness. Can civilization afford all of the benefits which it knows how to create? I incline, temperamentally at least, to believe that it cannot afford to do without them. I believe, furthermore, that as a nation we have neither realized our full productive capacity nor devised an economical method of allocating and distributing its output. In the last analysis it is not for social workers to say how much money shall be spent for social work. This is the right of the community as a whole, and its decision will be influenced both by its resources and by its own ideals for the society of which it is a part.

This question has a more practical significance for social workers. Whether you agree in thinking that, despite the wealth of this country, its expenditures for social welfare, like its expenditures for anything else, must be determined in the long run by its income, actual or potential, all of you will perhaps agree that the money available at any time for social welfare is limited to that which the most efficient money-raising measures can secure from contributors and legislatures. All sorts of factors may enter into the fixing of a saturation point for giving and appropriating in a particular community. There may be disagreement between a chest, for example, which senses acutely the growth of gift-resistance in its public, and the executives of social agencies, who sense the acuteness of human need. But both will concede that for practical purposes and for the time being a maximum may be reached, even though the process of education may, and ultimately must, raise the apparent maximum.

The experience of those who have assumed the responsibility of financing social work, both in chest and in non-chest cities, is that a point is always reached when the rate of increase in legitimate ways of spending money is greater than the rate of increase in the money available. Sooner or later this will necessitate a process of selection among the various legitimate purposes to which available resources may be put. This means a selection not only among the various specific agencies and fields of social work but among the other cultural fields with which social work competes for contributions and appropriations. That is to say, in the long run the distribution of a community's expenditures for social purposes involves a comparison not only of the programs of social agencies with each other but of these programs with public education, with recreation, with health facilities, with libraries, with police and fire protection.

Who shall make this selection? Ultimately the community itself must do so. I believe, however, that a community may reasonably expect of those who are responsible for the functional administration of these community services that their separate requests for support be determined in the light of a total community need. Here is a real task for leadership. Here is one of the highly strategic points at which the character of any cultural service must be both cause and function, for at this point a community has a right to ask both what values in social life it should expect for itself and what distribution of these values among its people it is willing and able to accomplish.

As a third recent development in social work where the distinction between cause and function is easily confused, we may take the growing interest in the measurement of results. The measurement of results is distinctively the mark of the function as contrasted with the cause. It represents a comparatively old quest by social workers which has recently been sharpened into an urgent demand.

Statistics, case accounting, case studies, scoring devices, rating schedules, indices of dependency, and other problems are all methods of measurement entirely valid for experiment in the field of social work. Few of them have as yet proved themselves entirely trustworthy but all of them have given results sufficiently informing to justify their continued experimental use. Not all of the problems and efforts of social work, however, lend themselves easily to measurement. In dealing with the problems of instinct, habit, personality, public opinion, adjustment, and character building with which all of social work is ultimately concerned we shall hardly find checks upon the efficiency of social work as specific and convincing as costs, sales, and earnings provide in industry, or even as the death-rate and the incidence of disease provide in the field of public health. Nevertheless, the measurement of results is an obligation of the functional development of social work which we have been slow to recognize.

When we present this obligation, however, in terms of evaluation, it becomes more complicated. Measurement may be expected to give us certain facts regarding social work which may be compared with some accepted standard of achievement. Evaluation, however, suggests both measurement and the approval of the standard. By what standards shall we measure social work? As a functional enterprise the work of an organization can legitimately be measured in terms of economy and efficiency, in terms of a ratio between effort and result. Social work, however, is cause as well as function. Much of what we do in social work we do because, on the whole, we prefer a civilization in which such things are done to one in which they are not. Some values are beyond measurement. One cannot measure the results of higher education in mathematical terms or in any other terms that actually prove its efficiency. Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, in an address, once referred to an

> efficiency engineer who had seen a father amusing his child by tossing it with his own arm. It occurred to the engineer that there was considerable waste of energy in his crude and primitive method and that he could invent a machine by which the father could toss the child twice as high and many times as fast with less expenditure of energy.[3]

The efficiency of such a machine could no doubt be proved. Its economy of energy as compared with the waste in the method of the father could no doubt be demonstrated mathematically with approximate accuracy. There is, however, a good deal to be said for a civilization in which fathers toss their own children (although child tossing may by this time have been ruled out of court by the modern doctrines of child hygiene).

I doubt if efficiency in terms of economy of expenditure, in terms of a reasonable ratio of result to effort expended, can ever be established completely for many forms of social work. Moreover, I believe that it does not need to be so established in order to justify such effort. Much of the work of settlements, much of social case work, much of recreation, and much of public health needs no other justification than that, on the whole, we prefer to live in a society in which such services are maintained for the benefit of those who need them. Here, again, we have a strategic point at which social work must continue to be a combination of the cause and the function. The reluctance of social work to find its own methods of measurement may be interpreted as a failure to realize that the time has come when the cause must be incorporated into the function. On the other hand, too great an insistence upon the possibility of measuring the results of social work may blind the functionally minded social worker to its great mission as a cause.

A modern writer has suggested that a part of the genius of every civilization is its capacity to give corporate life to an idea.[4]

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[3] T. N. Carver, "Home Economics from a Man's Point of View," *Journal of Home Economics*, October, 1913.

[4] G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England*, p. 180. Longmans, Green & Co., 1928.

The functional development of social work I interpret as the effort of our civilization to give corporate life to the ideas which have inspired the world's great causes in behalf of suffering, underprivileged humanity. Civilization, however, is dead unless it retains the capacity to develop new ideas as well as to insure the permanence and efficacy of those to which it has given corporate life. To what extent can social work as a hand maiden of civilization combine within itself the capacity to administer functional responsibility and to inspire in men an interest in causes?

That new causes need to be initiated every social worker is painfully aware. Efficient social work everywhere means the constant discovery of new evils, of ancient evils in new forms which are taking their toll of men. Good social work creates the necessity for more social work. A modern philosopher tells us "that in any specific reform we may succeed but half the time and in that measure of success we may sow the seeds of newer and higher evils to keep the edge of virtue clean."[5] Miss Jane Addams wrote thirty-seven years ago, "The good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain, is floating in mid-air, until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life."[6]

In our economic and political system, in our conventions, laws, and intrenched attitudes regarding family and sex, and in many other areas of human interest, we as social workers are aware of problems which our functional activity does not touch. Each of them suggests a potential cause which looks for leadership in part to social work.

Can we discharge this responsibility? It must be admitted that the task presents some difficulties to the current generation which older generations did not face. Our very success has increased these difficulties. In many places and to some extent throughout the country some of the obvious steps toward social welfare have been taken. Later steps always demand greater caution, a more comprehensive search for facts, a more careful study of remedies. Furthermore, the success of social work as a cause in arousing the American public to the necessity of correcting outstanding evils and its later success as a functional organization in dealing with those evils have made the shibboleths of social work and the discussion of social responsibility something of a commonplace. So familiar have they become that, compared with thirty-five years ago, the appeal of the social worker to the social impulses of men falls upon satiated ears. This, however, can only be interpreted by the personnel of modern social work, both professional and lay, as a challenge—a challenge to their authoritative knowledge, a challenge to the vitality of their conviction regarding human welfare. We cannot meet this challenge by going back to a day when social work was exclusively or predominantly a cause. We must meet it with the sober recognition that it is and must be both cause and function.

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[5] Quoted from George Santayana by Charles Evans Hughes in address before the Bronx County Bar Association, January 25, 1929.

[6] Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House,* p. 116. Macmillan Co., 1910.

What does this mean to the individual social worker? It must be admitted, as we glance over the history of human progress, that few individuals seem to have combined within themselves the qualities of the dynamic leader of the cause and the efficient executive in charge of the function. The two do not often appear at their best within one temperament. As one of my predecessors in the presidency of the Conference, Miss Vaile, pointed out, it is not too much to hope that social work may continue to produce some individuals who present this happy combination. It would, however, be unfair to social work to expect that progress in both directions is possible only if we are able to produce such geniuses in large numbers. Each of the great cultural agencies of social life, the church, law, medicine, art, education, has progressed because, in addition to those outstanding personalities who combine both leadership and functional expertness, its active personnel have included very many more who were outstandingly either one or the other but not outstandingly both.

Recognizing this fact, I think that social work at the present time need not fear comparison either in its leadership or its expertness with other professions. As I see young people entering the ranks of social work, both professional and lay, I believe there is no reason to be apprehensive about the comparison in the future.

In the last analysis I am not sure that the greatest service of social work as a cause is contributed through those whose genius it is to light and hand on the torch. I am inclined to think that in the capacity of the social worker, whatever his rank, to administer a routine functional responsibility in the spirit of the servant in a cause lies the explanation of the great service of social work. This capacity is perhaps a higher qualification for leadership than the ability to sway groups of men. According the fullest respect to our outstanding leaders of the past and present, we may nevertheless assert that social work never would have achieved its great service to mankind without its growing army of less conspicuous men and women who have seen no necessary inconsistency between idealism and efficiency. Its future, moreover, is largely in their hands.

PACIFIC RELATIONS

Hon. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, Washington

MR. PRESIDENT, Foreign Delegates, Members of the Conference: It seems to me something like a vacation to talk for a few minutes on Pacific relations. I have recently been so engrossed with law, Indians, public lands, politicians, statesmen, Boulder Dams, water supplies, and other things of local interest that it is a distinct pleasure to turn to a large open free body of water where in a short sail you can get out of sight of land and out of sight of people.

The Pacific Ocean is a large ocean. Perhaps when oceans were made it was a mistake to make it so large, but we have to take it as it is. For a long time it was so large that it seemed to be a barrier to keep the peoples of the Pacific worlds apart, but more recently man has been very busy in his laboratories and factories till now we find that ocean has been made only a pond of reasonable size. We can send messages across it in less than a minute and our great ships cross it in about ten days between the locations that are nearest each other. With the help coming from the interchange of students, of goods, and of ideas, the Pacific instead of being a barrier is now simply a passageway used by half of the peoples of the earth. The Pacific offers an entirely new opportunity to the human family. We have made a fumble of our great human associations in this world. Our great associations for the most part have been those of armed conflict and of getting over the results of our wars. Now in the Pacific there is an opportunity to have a different history from that of the Atlantic. The stage is set for the new spirit which now seems to be coming into the mind of man, the spirit of settling difficulties by conference and by cooperation rather than by force of arms. We face here the great problem of the human emotions. Human intelligence speaks with exactly the same meaning, no matter what language the tongue may use. But the human emotions are not yet under control, and they determine so many of our reactions. It is because of this that we who are interested in social work must analyze some of the problems carefully. For instance, I have heard of someone who said that the telephone was wonderful because "I saw two Chinese talking over the telephone and they could understand each other!" We must remember that these contrivances of modern life operate regardless of differences of race, language, creed and color, and they are mixing us now both as to individuals, as to goods, and as to ideas as we have never been mixed before. And while we have advanced through education and science, we still have the old mental reactions, the old prejudices, the old emotions to face, and since our mixture is taking place in the larger quantities our risks are going to be greater. Let us stop for a minute and see what all this is about.

You know something about the United States. It is on the Pacific although a lot of people seem to fail to understand that. Incidentally, how do you think we of the United States appear to the peoples across the Pacific and in South America? It is illuminating to have the frank conversations with physicians of South America which I have had, and also with those of Japan and of China. To them we look like the Sunday supplement of the newspapers. What kind of a picture does that give of the American home, of the American boy and girl, of the American business man? What impression of the American people has been built up in the minds of these peoples by the present processes of publicity? It looks to them as if light family relations were our chief industry, as if the sale of stolen jewels were an important part of our business activities, and as if our policemen were engaged in wholesale crime, and so on. We are awake to a great many things, but when a South American business man says to me: "Is it true that only one woman in ten in the United

States is a virtuous woman?" and when he has received that impression from our press dispatches and our moving pictures, you can get an idea that we on the Pacific have some problems.

It is worth while looking at yourselves for a few minutes as other people see you, or you cannot appreciate the problems of the Pacific. Mr. Koo, at one of the conferences of the Pacific relations group, brought out the fact that to the Chinese there is a peculiar smell to the Anglo-Saxon. Thus there are people who see you and others who smell you. There are a lot of primitive biological reactions that determine thinking, together with the sense of smell and the sense of sight. They go right to your fundamental emotions. This is as far as we need go with the United States. But do not forget that we start with some handicaps. We are not the cock of the loft, either in numbers, in wealth of history, in philosophy, in religion, in backgrounds, or in a number of other things. Let us go south.

First comes Mexico. We do not count Mexico as much of a Pacific country, but yet it is the Achilles heel of the United States. It is a vulnerable spot where difficulties may arise if we are foolish. It is having a struggling time to win its way forward, but it must do it in its own way, and it is getting on a firmer foundation, and some time it will be a Pacific nation.

In Central and South America things of real interest are happening, especially in Panama and Nicaraugua, but South America is still Atlantic-minded.

Our next neighbor beyond South America is New Zealand, which is said by some to be more English than England, a colony that supplies butter and other foods to London. Then comes Australia, not yet settled so far as numbers are concerned, and very much afraid of invasion from the peoples of Asia, jealous of "White Australia." In Queensland it has been shown that you can live in the tropics although you are white, if you work. If the whites indulge in too many servants and leave to them all work that involves physical activity, or if they live in clubs with convenient alcoholic drinks, they go out.

Then comes the group of all those islands, full of mystery, inhabited by wonderful peoples that we have read about so much, peoples who have been so largely damaged and destroyed by their contacts with the outsider.

Then come the Philippines, the great responsibility of the United States. In an attempt on our part to give their inhabitants an education we gave them the kind that a boy needs who is raised under American conditions, and it made too many politicians and too few hard workers. But that can be corrected by themselves as time goes on. We have insisted wherever we have gone that whatever we did was best, and it may have been for us but it may not have been for others. In our own country we insisted that the Indian must be a farmer. He had come from Asia thousands of years ago, had developed nomadic habits, and the one thing he did not want to do was to farm. But we, being farmers, insisted that he should be and thereby made the biggest failure possible. We failed to think in his terms. We were thinking in our terms. In the Philippines we must think in the terms of the people there.

We turn to Japan. Think of that island by the side of Asia, which in the course of one or two generations has emerged from a little known closed nation into the front rank of civilization. In a simple but straightforward way they broke down their barriers, foreigners were admitted, and they sent the pick of their young men into the laboratories and factories of the world, to Germany, to the United States, to England. They learned in little more than a decade what was going on in other countries, brought their knowledge back to Japan, and in a very short time had a fleet of ironclad warships which defeated a European nation in a modern battle. They built high voltage plants, laboratories, hygienic and medical, and transformed through trained laboratory workers this old nation into a modern one. They noted a marked growth in the population and the development of their whole civilization toward industry. While this was in many ways to their advantage, there was so much centralization that in a short time the population came close to the food supply, and they faced the problem of having too small an island and the need of either controlling their population and increasing the food supply or of having their population scatter because there was not room enough or food enough on the islands.

Then there is China, with its four hundred million people, the most industrious and biologically competent people on the earth, capable of having the most children and of doing the most work with the least amount of food. They have four thousand years of history behind them. They face, as Japan faced, the question of what to do with the new ideas brought in, and we find them gradually forming a united people, striving for a new form of government, and seeking to get all the things for themselves that we and the Japanese have. How long it will take them depends upon how long it takes to achieve economic strength. China has many problems in the way of poverty and disease, but it has some laboratories and medical schools. When the modern ways of training come to be introduced generally into Chinese schools, the next step will be to get roads, railways, telephones, radios, and automobiles, and all the other things that may or may not be worth while, although we like to have them. They have everything in their favor in eventually procuring these things, and when they demand them, as they will, the whole world will be busy supplying that demand.

Next, we have Indo-China, where the French have a stake. Then there is India. Sometimes I think they understand us in India better than in some other countries, for we, like them, have a rigid caste system. Ours is not so extensive but it is pronounced and bitter and depends upon color. We ought to be sympathetic since we face a social problem associated with a similar difficulty.

Then comes Russia—pushed back somewhat, to be sure, but she still stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific and has hundreds of millions of people. Their families are of large size, their ambitions are high, and their physiques are good. Their ideas of government may be different from ours but if they like them they are going to have them, and they are on the Pacific. We find in Manchuria, Russians, Chinese, and Japanese impinging upon the same territory. Some people think this is a tinderbox and that there is great need of care and guidance, and that we have to watch out for trouble there.

We swing across to Alaska and Canada. All through the whole Pacific runs the power of the great British commonwealth of nations.

I have tried to give a sketch of the realm of the Pacific. All the great nations are there except Germany. Half of the many millions of people on this earth are living on its shores. The fate of the human family is going to be played out right here. What is that fate going to be? How can we learn to understand each other, in view of the differences of language, race, religion, philosophy, and outlook, and the great distances involved? Fortunately, the new method that has come with modern times is that of conference instead of conflict. Fortunately, too, there are more people in the world willing to look facts squarely in the face than there used to be.

We have such a conference in the Institute of Pacific Relations. It has met twice in Honolulu and will meet again in Kyoto next November. It is a voluntary organization meeting as you meet here. Living together for two weeks in a college dormitory or in a hotel, its members get acquainted. In their meetings they face the realities of the situation. They come to no decisions, take no important votes. Facts are the things that are sought. And facts, you know, are not always the things that we classify as facts. For instance, if you think that because I am an American I have the qualities that are indicated by the Sunday supplements, as referred to a few minutes ago, you may be wrong, but nevertheless that you think so is a fact which has to be faced. There is a great deal of this sort of thing that has to be dealt with among the members of these institutes. We have to seek the realities and the truths, for the human race is controlled by great laws just as are the other things in nature. You do not defy or try to destroy the electricity that kills, but you learn some of its secrets and make it give you light. It always works the same way with human reactions. They behave according to certain definite universal rules that we must seek to understand in their totality. It is true that human reactions depend upon great laws that we have yet to understand. When you smoke a cigarette about 75 per cent of the cost is advertising. If somebody knew just what is necessary to get people to buy, a great deal could be saved. We are trying to find out upon what laws the decisions people make depend. No longer can we surmise; no longer can we depend upon emotional reactions if we are to have a safe world. We must use our brains, develop our capacity to face facts and to look through other people's eyes. We cannot go on thinking selfishly, blindly, or we will blunder as we have blundered before. How are we going to understand each other? Only by intelligent, careful conference, study, cooperation, and all in a spirit of good will. We must want to have the thing work out right.

There is no more difficult problem before us than this of the Pacific. I have sketched it only in its major outlines. Our diplomatic machinery is inadequate; our methods of contact are inefficient. How much does such a group as this really know of the problems of handling the powers at the city of Peking? How much about the great efforts being made in Tokio to take care of Japan's many difficulties? I get along with medical men of other countries because we both know a common language. Typhoid fever is the same in all countries; it speaks but one language. So when we talk about the facts of medicine, we talk a common language. There are other common languages, even in the domain of politics. I venture to say that 85 per cent of the problems we consider real difficulties could be practically settled without controversy if the facts were understood on both sides. Only about 15 per cent I believe would involve real difficulty in bringing about an understanding. So the will to have things go properly is fundamental.

I ask you to think in the terms of the whole human family. We are all pushing through space together on this globe of ours which is getting smaller all the time because of quicker contacts. Among the many spheres of the universe perhaps we are of no great importance, but here we are, bound together, interdependent economically, with the task of making our world a single cooperative unit. Everyone of good heart and good will must join in to solve the problem of how to help the human family to help itself away from the domain of armed conflict and contest into the domain of understanding and happiness and satisfaction.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRESS ON SOCIAL RELATIONS

Chester H. Rowell, President, California Conference of Social Work, Berkeley

THE fact that you people are here tonight, as against the myriads outside who have preferred the attractions across the way, indicates that there are at least some brands left from the burning. But the situation also illustrates one of the limitations of the newspapers, about which we are to speak tonight. Newspapers deal with numbers. Where are the numbers tonight? You have observed a whole city turn out to see the movie stars go by. Large as this audience seems, assembled to hear whatever words of wisdom may flow from this platform, it is negligible as compared with that multitude.

On a larger scale, you saw the same thing happen in the newspapers when, on the same day, Rudolph Valentino and President Eliot died. There were acres of print about Valentino, but hardly with a search warrant and a microscope could you discover the brief notice that the great president, through a long generation, of our most distinguished university had died, incidentally, on the same day. It is a matter of perspective which thing looms large and which small. If that perspective seems sometimes grotesque, as in this case, do not attribute it all to the ignorance and stupidity of newspaper editors. They are dealing with people, and this, in their experienced judgment, is the people's perspective.

You have asked me to speak on the influence of the press on social relations. Social relations are at bottom all our relations, and social workers in some sense are all the people. In dealing with the press, in its social relations, we are considering the principal force of modern life. The world has grown so big and so complicated that we cannot be everywhere and see everything for ourselves. Only the press can do that for us. Through its glass we see, darkly or lightly, clearly or distortedly, whatever we see at all. As it serves us and as we use it, so is our experiment of democracy a success or a failure.

The newspaper is the only thing that everybody reads, and the only thing that most people read at all. It is the unifying force that holds this modern world together. Look back to the ancient and medieval world and you will find that it, too, was held together only by those forces which partook of the nature of the modern press. Roman roads and Roman couriers, even more than Roman armies, held together the Roman Empire. Through all the long political chaos of the early Middle Ages, the church, with its common language, its community of spirit, and its common intellectual interests, was the one unifying force left in troubled Europe. Most of the people in those times were inarticulate and did not count, but for those who did count there were news facilities sufficient to make them one community, in interest and knowledge. So the world did not quite fall apart.

Here in this new country, and in this newer age, we have had to substitute something better fitted to our newer conditions. As we became a great nation, so vast in space and numbers that no political or social machinery the world had ever known would have been able to hold it together and to move it as one mass, the press grew up. Through it everybody has come to read and talk about the same things every day. The press cannot determine which side you will take, but it can largely determine which questions you will take sides on. I have seen it tried in the most improbable ways. Two Yiddish newspapers once had the whole East Side of New York City almost rioting in a dispute between realism and idealism, in dramatic art and criticism. I have just seen the whole city of Honolulu upheaved over the question whether certain trees, which most readers had never seen, should have been cut down or not. The newspapers can concentrate the thoughts of the whole people on anything. When they do that, whichever side you take, they have determined your interests, and indirectly your course of action.

You have all heard the story of the mythical Chinese emperor, who lived in a porcelain palace and had a nightingale that went about every night and found out what people were saying and doing. In the morning the bird told the emperor, and he was the wisest man in the realm, because he knew the news. The grand vizier got tired of the nightingale because it told too much truth. Grand viziers do not like truth. So he had the court jeweler make a new nightingale, all of gold, studded with diamonds and sapphires. When it was wound up, it would sing much more elaborate tunes than any the real nightingale knew which the grand vizier had made up to suit himself. So the emperor neglected the real nightingale for his new toy, and the little gray bird went out in the forest and grieved. Finally, the emperor wound the toy bird once too often; the spring broke and it fell into a thousand pieces. Meantime he had lost his wisdom and neglected the affairs of state, and the people had fallen into poverty and distress. But now the real nightingale again told the emperor the news; and he again became the wisest of men and his empire the happiest of states.

In that realm, it was enough if one man knew the news; but in our democracy it is not enough unless all the people know the news. In a government by all the people, all the people must have a nightingale to tell them the news. For the greatest and wisest man otherwise is not a competent citizen of a democracy unless he knows the news. Our newspapers have provided that service for this, the first and greatest of democracies. Europe, long a leader in many aspects of journalism, is following along in newsgathering, too. Thus the whole world becomes one room, each part interested in every other.

Unless you have been in the business it is almost impossible to realize the ramifications of this universal news service. The newspapers of the world are so organized that anything which happens anywhere happens under the eye of someone whose business it is to tell the rest of us, to the extent of our interest. It is an interesting experience to be in one of the few places to which that universal dragnet does not reach. A few years ago I was in the Tongan Islands, in the South Seas, one of the few places left to which, at that time at least, even the wireless did not reach. King Jiaoji, high sovereign of all the Tongas, died, but nobody knew it except the people and high chiefs of Tonga. I got out on the monthly steamer, and in due time arrived at Honolulu. Reporters scrambled aboard, and I told them that the King of Tonga was dead. Ten minutes later the news was in London and Calcutta. Once touch any corner of the system and you are in touch with all the world. On the other hand, in my own family the other day, the prospective bride and groom had scarcely written their names in the county clerk's book, and had not got out of the courthouse, when the news of their coming marriage was on the Associated Press wires. So, from the death of a king of the remotest isles to the marriage of a daughter, the network of the press is all-inclusive. If it was God who created of one blood all the tribes and nations of men, it is the press which is bringing them to a consciousness of that fact.

We complain constantly, and often with right, of the "inaccuracy of the press." But consider first its marvelous accuracies. The further you get away from the editor and proprietor, the more exacting that requirement is. It applies precisely to the things in which you, as highbrows, are least concerned, but on which the multitude of readers, as humans, are most sensitive. If you should be hurt in an accident the veriest cub reporter would feel that his job depended on getting your middle initial and street address right. If your house burned down your name, the street number, and the amount of the insurance would be exactly right. But if you were to deliver a great oration on the Socinian heresy you might dictate the article, and read proof on it, and still they would get it wrong. If you were a great judge, and handed down a decision settling a fundamental principle of law, never once would it happen that any lawyer could tell, by what the newspapers said, what it was you really decided. But if you are a baseball fan, and are prevented from seeing some great game, you will know absolutely that the reports of hits, runs, and errors are exactly correct. The newspapers record your birth and death, and the rise and fall of your stocks, and a thousand other things which require an enormous organization, and they spend literally millions on getting these things right. They get them right, because the readers of this sort of news will not stand for anything else. Whenever lawyers and social workers are as exacting in this respect as baseball and prize-fight fans or stock gamblers, they will get the same perfect service.

Thus you have this newspaper machine, spreading the news, right and wrong, wise and foolish, in good taste and bad, but at least holding the world together—and doing it with astonishing cheapness. It delivers to you sundry square yards of white paper, covered with inked words, containing the news of the world. The newspaper attitude is that if it contains this, and contains it unpolluted and undistorted, you have not been cheated out of your penny or your nickel. The newspaper is perhaps the supreme example of the cheapness of modern mass production. If some great emperor had to have a news service of his own, to give him what you can get for a few cents, I doubt if there is a national treasury in the world that could afford the luxury. These things, at least, the newspaper does well.

Some other things it does not do so well. Most of these are precisely the things which you best understand, and can therefore be most useful in correcting. One thing you should have no charity for whatever, and that is deliberate misrepresentation. We have seen an example of that right here in California within the last few weeks, regarding a measure which acutely interests all of you. The "twenty-four-hour school bill," which the governor has just signed, permits cities, if they wish, to try an important experiment in dealing with children before they become delinquent: to attack the evil before it happens. I am not saying that this bill is the best way to meet the problem, but at least it is one way, and the problem is a real one. Unquestionably, the best time to meet delinquency is before it begins. It is a fine thing that the laws of California now permit intelligent efforts on this line. But along with it came a tremendous newspaper crusade, not against this actual bill, but against another fictitious bill, alleged to contain provisions which this bill never contained, and which have never been considered. Democracy cannot operate if its people are told, through their only available source of information, that their government is doing one thing when it is really doing another thing. Even the most intelligent citizenship cannot base sound judgment on misinformation. If this is the way the newspapers are going to treat the people the experiment of democracy is not only difficult, but precarious.

The same evil threatens to vitiate our democracy on much greater and more critical questions. America is now called to occupy a new place, in a new world. Its whole economic and political relations to the world, on which also its domestic prosperity and safety depend, are in flux and challenge decision. The people must make the decisions, but they can only do so competently if the newspapers will furnish them the facts. If there is a law to clean the street, and you are told that it is a law to burn up your house, naturally you cannot base any just opinion on that information. You may, quite logically, gather your neighbors to drive the sweeper off the street. This is scarcely an exaggeration of the sort of things the American people are now being told about the World Court. If the treaty establishing the Court really contained the provisions attributed to it, every sane man in the world would be justified in opposing it. Instead, every important nation in the world except ours, and practically every informed and articulate voice of public opinion in America, is for it. Yet our people are being told daily, by papers of enormous circulation (the only means of information of millions of our citizenry) that the statute of the Court contains provisions which do not even remotely resemble the ones it does contain, and which, if true, should have caused its unanimous rejection by a world which, on the contrary, has almost unanimously accepted it. So the place of this great nation, its part in moving the world forward or holding it back may be determined by whether the people of the United States believe these misrepresentations, or whether the truth can be got to them. I am not referring to this illustration, to take advantage of the occasion to argue for the World Court, but to protest against the misuse of the public press in such a way as to make intelligent discussion of either side of a question like this impossible. That sort of abuse of newspaper power is one evil for which I would recommend no charity or patience whatever.

For the rest of the evils of the press, I would recommend to you exactly the same attitude that you have toward the other evils of life on which you are professionally expert. There is the abusive attitude and the hortatory attitude, but you do not, in your own specialty, adopt either one. You are not engaged in a crusade against sin, nor in urging people to be good. Your process is rather one of diagnosis. You seek to find what causes these social evils and how to prevent them from happening. You look with generosity, with understanding, and with Christian charity on the other evils of life. Why not apply the same method to the evils of the newspaper? If some newspapers are ignorant, stupid, and vulgar, so are most of their readers. In those newspapers we see our reflection, and apparently we like it. At least those are the papers we buy in the greatest numbers. If you do not buy them it is because you are a class apart. If some newspapers specialize in good taste it is because they want *you* to buy them. If others show bad taste it is because they want the other kind of people to buy them. They are the reflection of one or the other aspect of this new and incomplete experiment in democracy with which we are struggling. The problem is not merely the press. The problem is *us*. If we don't like the picture which the newspaper reflects it is up to us to make an appearance which will look better in that mirror.

We criticize the press for all sorts of things, some of them sound and some unsound. Some people claim that crime is increased by printing crime news. Doubtless it is. Doubtless also people are deterred from crime by reading the platitude that "crime never pays." Unfortunately that is not true. Sometimes crime does pay. Some may be restrained by learning of the punishments of crime; some may be turned to it by learning of the emoluments of crime. The point is that the policy of the newspapers has nothing to do with either of these results. Crime news, or any other sort of news, is not published to do good or to do harm. It is published because it is news. Devotion of the newspaper craft to the news is almost as intense as the devotion of the moralist to the right, or of the reformer to human betterment. Say to the newspaperman, "That is wrong," and his answer will be, "What of it? It is news." Similarly, say "That will do harm," and his reply still will be, "What of it? It is news." In both cases he will think that he is appealing from mere right and wrong, or betterment and injury, to the higher category of news.

This is a standpoint perhaps hard for the social worker to appreciate. You have been trying so hard to produce good, or to prevent harm, that it is not easy to realize a standard to which both are subordinated. Yet that is exactly the standard of science also. The scientist discovers a truth, and he values it just because it is true, regardless of whether it will be useful for the benefit or for the destruction of mankind, or for that human enlightenment which is higher than use or misuse. Similarly, the newspaperman, if he thinks of it at all, doubtless assumes that his news will be used for both good and evil; but he regards both as out of his jurisdiction. What people do is their business. His job, for better or for worse, is to report it.

But while the purpose of this objective standard is neither good nor evil, it doubtless does do more good than any explicitly moralizing policy which could be substituted for it. At any rate it is the only one on which newspapers could operate and still remain newspapers. Even sensationalism and vulgarity are less evils than any attempt to stop them would be. The best remedy for one newspaper is the other. They are not likely both to do the same sort of wrong. Leaving them to each other is better than trying to restrict them.

Newspapers are naturally of all sorts—good, bad, and indifferent. You whose standard is dignity and intelligence are sometimes inclined to think American newspapers the worst in the world. That is merely the prevalent error of judging other countries by their best and America by its commonest. It has been part of my business to wander over the earth and to read newspapers in many languages, in every corner of it. The result of that experience is that the more I see of newspapers in the rest of the world the more respect I have for American newspapers. I would rather have our papers, with all their faults, than any others I know. Let me illustrate: The last time I was in Paris I bought, the day I left, the five principal Paris papers of that morning. One of them had a line across the top proclaiming the largest circulation in the world, "Le plus grand tirage du monde entier." I put all five in my breast pocket and it did not bulge. Arriving home, I bought a copy of the Sunday *New York Times.* It was a big armful. Five of them would have been a cartload. Quantitatively, the difference between our newspapers and those of the Old World, measured by acres of print or tons of paper, is as great as the difference between our telephones or bath tubs. Brussels is one of the great capitals and centers of culture of Europe, but the quantity of news printed in its newspapers is less than you would find in a country town of five thousand inhabitants in America. I found myself, there, reading the Amsterdam papers, which are better, until the arrival of the London papers, which are, of course, much better. The *London Times* is, for its highly specialized purpose, one of the best newspapers in the world.

I was in Geneva when Germany entered the League of Nations, one of the most impressive events in modern history. I saw that news happen, and then I read about it in the *Journal de*

Genève, a newspaper which specializes on League of Nation news, and is for that reason read in every chancellory and exchange office in Europe. Afterward I read the same things in the *New York Times.* In quantity, the *Times* paid tolls across the ocean on five times as many words as the *Journal de Genève* paid printer's bills to publish in Geneva. Qualitatively, too, the *Times* service was at least as good as that of the Geneva paper with the single exception of some of M. Martin's brilliant editorials. There are such newspapers in America, of which the *Times* is perhaps the best-known example. There are also other sorts. But if the *Times* sort is what you want, you can always have, either the *Times* itself or whatever paper in your neighborhood comes nearest its standard. Nobody has to read trash unless he wishes.

The *New York Times,* too, still using it as the most conspicuous example, has not achieved its quality circulation at the expense of quantity. It has a huge circulation. That is the final test. Newspapers are made to sell, and a thousand copies are just ten times better than a hundred. From the standard of the ordinary newspaper, your class is unimportant, because there are not many of you. It is encouraging to find that at last some of the papers that come up to your desires have also found enough people of your sort or some other to make it pay.

There is an assumption, which is not scientifically or practically true, but on which, nevertheless, newspaper men, movie magnates, and politicians have made some very plausible successes, that the lower you aim, on the scale of intelligence, the more people you will hit. The movies think that if they reach the fourteen-year-old intelligence that will be most of us. Perhaps, in our hours of relaxation, they are not far wrong. The first newspaper chain to achieve really stupendous circulation was one of which it was said that it was "edited for people who could not think." Then came the tabloids, edited for people who could not read, and their circulation was still larger. Let us hope that this estimate of the pyramidal structure of American intelligence does us an injustice—but men whose fortunes depend on it have made millions by it, in the newspaper and movie business, and politicians who have the same opinion of the people and treat them on the same basis have been elected to the majority of the seats in the United States Senate. If their estimate is correct, perhaps that is the way to treat us. But democracy is inoperable under it. Whenever we get a really operable democracy, we will have better newspapers to help it operate. The rule works both ways.

"But," you say, "the newspaper is more than a merchant of the news. It is a discusser of public questions, and it ought to lead as well as inform." Quite correct. And in some things the newspapers do lead. Not all newspapers have courage and character, but enough of them have, and they have not hesitated to lead in these moral qualities. Their failure is on the intellectual side. If you need someone to dare a new deed, on behalf of civic righteousness, at risk and loss to himself, go to your newspaper editor. You will be astonished to find the number of cases in which he will respond. But if you need someone to think a new thought, to show the fallacy of the prevalent slogans and to run counter to traditional prejudices, you will probably find that beyond his courage. He knows that righteousness, courage, idealism, and loyalty are simple things, requiring no intelligence, and he will trust the people to understand and follow them. But getting down underneath your own axioms, to see if they are true—that is the function of the isolated thinker, not of the democratic leader. So he will tell you.

Of examples of moral leadership there is no lack. I remember, and you have doubtless read in history of the crusade of *Harper's Weekly* against Boss Tweed and his gang in New York. You remember the "muckrakers" and their magazine exposures which led to the reforms of President Roosevelt. The Pulitzer prize has more than once gone to newspapers for really heroic public services, in championing locally unpopular reforms or in attacking evils backed by locally powerful influences. Newspapers, more than one of them, have risked business ruin and personal danger in these causes. Not all newspapers, nor all men, have this courage and character, but some have, and these are enough to leaven and vindicate the mass. If you ask only moral and not intellectual leadership, you will not be disappointed in the American press.

I recall a historic experience in California. We had had, for many years, a situation in the politics and government of California which nobody now defends, and no one then defended except its beneficiaries. Everybody knew it needed reforming, but the politicians did not have the courage to undertake it. It required the boldness to say, to the managers of the Republican party, on behalf of its membership, "If you will not break from the evil influences which now control you we will break you and the party from them, even if it means to smash you with a Democratic victory." Twenty years ago that was beyond the courage of politicians. So some of us got together and formed an organization whose nucleus was a group of newspapers. With their help, and a campaign fund of $500, in the three years from 1907 to 1910, that organization proceeded to educate the people of California, so that the political revolution of 1910 became possible. Where reform means only the resolute application of the old standards of right and wrong, of common honesty and the public good, without any strains on that most difficult of human faculties, the intelligence, the newspapers have more than justified themselves.

But, you insist, there is another kind of leadership needed. That is leadership in fundamentals, to think new thoughts, to face new conditions in new ways, to analyze the old slogans and find out whether there is any longer workable truth in them. For that I fear you must not look to the newspapers for initiative in leadership. That leadership must come from you. Arthur Brisbane, perhaps the most successful and popular newspaper man in America, has been quoted as advising a young journalist, "Never lose your superficiality." Journalistically, it was probably good advice. What did it mean? Certainly not that you should be stupid and ignorant. The sage who gave the advice is far from being either of these himself. It meant that you shall be a good salesman.

Salesmanship is superficiality. You are selling automobiles; your car has a good engine, a sound chassis, and a beautiful body, and it sells at a reasonable price. These are all good reasons for buying it; but which of them do you emphasize? Whichever, in each case, a particular customer cares most for. You do not try to teach the woman who values only appearance that soundness and roadability are really more important. So, if you are selling gloves, and one customer wants something to make the hands look delicate while the other wants something comfortable, you, as a salesman, take ready-made the prejudices of both your customers and do not quarrel with either. You find out what each of them wants and sell him that. That is "superficiality."

When it comes to ideas, there, too, you find your people have certain ready-made ideas, and you approach them accordingly. People in this country imagine they do not believe in "paternalism," though most of them, in practice, get all they can of it for their own businesses. So if you want to defeat a certain measure you call it "paternalistic." Or if you want to support it you call it "progressive." You do not try to teach the people that paternalism is sometimes a good thing, and progressivism sometimes a bad thing, and that neither of them means much, as applied to conditions different from those for which they were coined. You take the prejudices as you find them and use them for your purposes. This is "superficiality" as applied to public questions. Most newspapers and most politicians, being engaged primarily in selling themselves and knowing that superficiality is good salesmanship, cultivate it as a virtue.

You belong to one of the few professions that do not do this. Perhaps it is because you are so largely the product of the twentieth century, while most of the slogans, which take the place of thought, are inherited from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. So you find your thought and the phrasemonging around you in conflict. You examine the old slogans and find they are not true, or convey only a half-truth. Most social axioms never were much more than half-truth, and they have become very much less than half-truth now. You, living in the twentieth century, are often annoyed to find most of your neighbors living, intellectually, in a curious mixture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The eighteenth century was a century of very simple maxims, which seemed to furnish, and perhaps then did furnish, ready-made solutions for everything. Here in America, in addition, that century achieved a great revolution, thought great thoughts and did great deeds and produced great leaders. And we, ever since, have so admired those great men and those great ideas that we have attached to their very words a certain fundamentalist inerrancy which has made it "unpatriotic" to know anything that was not known in 1789. Then came the nineteenth century, the age of machinery and big business. Then, with the worship of the political slogans of the eighteenth century and of the machinery and business of the nineteenth, we tried to face the problems of the twentieth century.

We may not have realized it, but the first thing we did was to undo them all. The nineteenth century had taught us to master the forces of nature. So we used them to make more terrible a war that stopped just short of destroying mankind. We used the slogans of the eighteenth century to explain and justify that war. We were protecting Western civilization by using its inventions to destroy it. We were making the world safe for democracy, when the first aftermath of the war was the challenge whether democracy was not itself an outgrown delusion. Now, having devoted the first third of the twentieth century to undoing our inheritance, we face, in the second third, the task of rebuilding it and justifying our trusteeship in it.

You as social workers have your large fraction of that task. You have first the responsibility for society's wreckages and failures. Unless you can make their lives at least tolerable they will make ours intolerable. But you are more than mere sweepers-up of human garbage. The very maintenance of much of our present social system, which other systems now challenge, rests on you. If the very efficiency of our machinery and organization produces unemployment, that problem faces you first. If it produces leisure, yours is the problem of making that leisure useful. One of the slogans you will have to refute is that "Satan finds some mischief still, for idle hands to do." It is for you to rescue the people's leisure from Satan. Some of the ways to do this will involve things which our fathers would have regarded as "paternalistic" or "socialistic." Perhaps they are; perhaps they are not. They can only be faced by minds which do not care. The question is not where they stand toward these ancient epithets, but how they will work in the world of present realities. Against the embattled sloganeers you must press on toward the truth.

If newspapers are to remain "superficial," you cannot look to them for leadership in these fundamentals. And yet the salvation of our civilization depends on somebody's facing them. Upon the larger questions, some of which are beyond your direct jurisdiction as an organization, though I hope not beyond your interest as individual citizens, the next few years are going to determine whether America is to be part of the now organized world, in an age in which unorganization, disorder, and isolation are no longer possible, or whether it will live in a world of dreams and unreality, in which the slogans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seem true. If it does that, then America is going to do with the second third of the twentieth century what science did with the first third—use its great power to set the world backward instead of forward. We have to learn to open our eyes to see what this century is rather than merely fancy it what we wish it were.

Not only on these international questions, but on your direct social problems, your great obstacle is still the ancient slogans. Chief of these are "paternalism" and "individualism," as eighteenth-century tests of twentieth-century facts. There are no such theory-bound people as our self-styled "practical men." The sense of fact is the last and most illusive faculty to be acquired by the human mind.

If, then, leadership in these fundamentals is the one thing on which the salvation of American civilization depends, and the only efficient organ of leadership in a democracy is the press, how is that leadership to be done, if the American newspapers will not do it? The answer is that *you* must take the lead. The newspapers will do the only part which you cannot do. They will print the news. Just as they do not care whether news is right or wrong, beneficial or harmful, so they do not care whether it is fundamental or superficial. If it is news they will print it. All you have to do is to make it news.

And you can make news. A crusade is news. A speech is news, if the right man makes it. Your own regular work is news, if you will do it in a news way. Crime is news. So, if you make it personal and vivid, is the prevention of crime. The very assault on a slogan is news, if it is dramatized and humanized. If you make a "paternalistic" thing visibly work, the slogan evaporates. If you can get the right man—Henry Ford, perhaps—to say something, the fact that he says it is news. If you will furnish the intellectual leadership, and make it news, the newspapers will do the rest. And then, when your new doctrine becomes orthodox, and embodied in a popular phrase, it, in its turn, is "superficial" and comes within the newspaper's jurisdiction. So the leadership of newspapers in a democracy is not hopeless, even in those things—chiefly the things of the intellect—in which they refuse direct initiative.

TRENDS IN SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN CHINA

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IN ATTEMPTING to describe trends in social reconstruction in China, I am reminded of a sign displayed above an express company office in Kobe, Japan, "Send your baggages to us and we will send them in every direction." The trends are in every direction. To attempt to portray the significant trend, especially for a Westerner, is a precarious undertaking.

To the average American the situation seems hopelessly confused. Certainly China does not appear to him to be a quarter from which much can be learned! Indeed, the prevailing attitude of the Western world to China has varied between sentimental curiosity about her supposed fantastic civilization and benevolent interest in her modernization and salvation. The suggestion that her past culture may have any important contribution to contemporary civilization, or that rejuvenated China may have valuable lessons to teach the West and may within a few years play a powerful rôle as a leading economic, political, and military power: these are approaches to the Orient that have been given little serious consideration in the West. To most occidentals it had seemed obvious that we were so much more successful and so far superior that our rôle was to dispense knowledge, famine relief, efficiency, and religion—certainly not to learn from the Orient.

But China also has her own "Nordics," and a noted Australian anthropologist has recently propounded a new theory of the origin of the several races calculated to give scientific substantiation to their claims. Taking Mongolia as the birthplace of the human species, he holds that the earliest and less developed types were the long heads—the blacks and the whites. These earliest, more primitive peoples were driven out by the last to arrive and the most highly developed race—the broad-headed yellows. His map of the distribution of the races shows radiating belts of blacks and whites extending out from China and Mongolia through Australia, Western Asia, Europe, and Africa, with the victorious yellow race at the center.

Whether this theory will be borne out by further research is not the question before us. One fact, however, seems clear—the Chinese people are a race of great ability and mental capacity. The creation of a great civilization in the past, the one outstanding existing culture other than the Euro-American, is not the only evidence. By mental tests, by comparative achievement in the schools and colleges of the West, Chinese students hold their own with those of any people. Under favorable and peaceful conditions in the world's greatest melting-pot, the Hawaiian Islands, the sons of unskilled Cantonese coolies assume a leading place in banking, trade, and commerce. To know the Chinese intimately in their own country and to become acquainted at first hand with all groups from college students to unskilled laborers is to gain a deep respect for the industry, the physical strength, the mental ability, and the all-around capacity of the Chinese.

I. The General Situation in China

First, the reason for the backwardness of China roots back in her cultural history. Why, then, if the Chinese are a people of such great capacity is there such continual turmoil in China? Why can the Chinese not put their own house in order? The answer can be found in the cultural history of China. An appreciation of the difficulties and of the magnitude of the combined political, industrial, social, and educational reorganization of this nation of four hundred million people will bring wonder at the rapidity of these changes rather than criticism of the chaotic conditions accompanying complete readjustment.

President Sun characterized the need of psychological reconstruction as the first step in the creation of nationalist China.

Old China was clan-minded, village-minded, and guild-minded, with no larger outlook or interest. The redirection of the outlook and interest of the people of this great nation to the larger questions of social and national import is a stupendous readjustment. In clan, guild, and village, the elders ruled. No initiative or leadership was desired or tolerated from the middle-aged or much less from the young. Their rôle was obedience and reverence for years. This was no training-ground for democracy. The official system too gave no place for the people to participate in public affairs.

An almost insurmountable obstacle to the early reorganization of China roots back in her religion and is the problem of overpopulation, due so largely to the religious demands for many sons to worship the ancestors. Early marriage, the desire for many sons to pay respect to the departed, the strong attachment of the Chinese farmer for the land where he works and for the fields in which his ancestors are buried combine to explain why the birth-rate among Chinese peasants is probably the highest in the world, and why there are in Central China some rice-growing areas of as many as six thousand persons to the square mile—the highest figure for density of population known. Here is a fruitful cause of famine and here are regions which make excellent recruiting areas for the war lords in search of sturdy youths.

Added to the handicaps of localism, paternalism, official caste, and a religion which stimulated overpopulation was the educational system which by narrowing the materials of education to the study of ancient classics made sacred the *status quo* and found the divine in these very relations already touched upon.

One should add to these disabilities the fact that the method of science was hit upon in the West a few generations before China made use of it. China's backwardness in industrial development and in material civilization generally can largely be explained by this fact.

For centuries the mind of China was turned backward to the glories of ancient civilization, to the ethics, to the history, and to the philosophy of the creative Chinese who lived three or four thousand years ago.

Second, the beginnings of change in Chinese culture are due to contacts with the West. Just as the hindrances to change and growth root back in the culture of ancient China, so the conditioning forces that make for adoption of the new arose through contacts with Euro-American culture. At first China sought these new implements as a means of defense against the Western barbarians. Li Hung Chang and other farseeing officials of the old school maintained that China must utilize the foreign machines if she was to survive as a nation, but also urged that her people hold to the ethics and spiritual culture of old China. Silk filature and textile factories, first extensively organized by Westerners, were seen by the Chinese to be profitable. They soon started building their own factories which within a few years outstripped their foreign competitors in number and in money invested. During the last twenty years the fear of the Western machine has given place to an eager reaching out for the implements of economic progress, in order to liberate the people of China from the degradation of abject poverty and to build a strong and efficient nation.

Third, the educational movement is the key to understanding the magnitude and rapidity of the change. Where is the source of this change in those few years to an attitude of eager welcome to the new Western culture? If Sun Yat Sen desired a psychological reconstruction as a preliminary to political reorganization, his hopes have been largely fulfilled already. Today to millions the old is anathema; the clan is considered a symbol of bondage; the guild is looked on as archaic and useless rubbish, and the village as a hopelessly drab and stupid place, while Confucius is considered the worst type of moss-backed puritanical conservative. On the other hand, science, efficiency, and modernization along all lines are ardently sought.

The key to the understanding of this sudden change of mental attitude is an appreciation of the place of the scholar in the life of old China and of the significance of the modern educational movement. The scholar in China has for centuries been the leader of the people. He has been venerated and followed. Because of this traditional attitude it was safe to predict that if you could change the scholars' ideas, you thereby would change the nation's. The mind of the scholar leaders has already been changed.

When in 1905 the old examination system was abolished, there were a few thousands of students in modern schools under Christian and other private auspices. Today there are between six and seven million in modern-style schools, governmental and private, from primary to university grades. Although those schools meet the needs of only about one-tenth of the sixty million to seventy million of school age, the achievement of providing for that number in twenty-four years is remarkable.

While these modern schools have been the most powerful single influence in effecting this transformation, of great importance also has been the renaissance movement launched in 1919 by a group of teachers and students in the National Government University in Peking. Through its concise program and its magazine, the *New Thought Tide,* it challenged the young men and women of China to save the country through science and democracy and to make a revaluation of cultural values, by analyzing the conventional institutions and attitudes of old China and determining their worth in the light of contemporary needs. It called upon them also to study the social, economic, and political institutions of the West with informed and critical spirit, to recreate a civilization. Within a few months there were more than six hundred new magazines, flooding the educational centers with discussions of labor and industry, politics and government, the reform of social customs, and the reorganization of family life.

Fourth, the youthful moderns in recent years have come into leadership. From the eventful year of 1919, for the first time in China's history the students espoused the cause of the common people. They organized the first labor unions and by lecturing throughout the countryside made a beginning of arousing the lethargic peasants to an interest in national affairs. As in former times the conservative scholars were the nation's rulers, so in the ten years just past the modern-trained scholar, with his love for the new and his aversion for the old, has come into the leadership of the nation. The change has been a dramatic one, marked by the forming, through the student's initiative, of citizens' unions in the cities, composed not only of students but of the chambers of commerce, the banker's associations, the labor unions, and religious bodies, by the mass meetings called by the student unions, and by parades and protests.

The recent Nationalist revolution was in many respects a youth movement. The ferment that started the popular demand for the rescinding of the unequal treaties, and the popular autonomy of China was the Shanghai Incident of May 30, 1925, when six students were killed and thirty wounded by the British municipal police. A year later students by the thousands from all over China flocked to the leader of the Nationalist army, the young Cantonese general, Chiang Kai Sec, thirty-four years of age. The cadets of the Hwang Poo Military Academy were the corp commanders of the victorious army that conquered half the nation in a few months; and the propaganda agents that went ahead of the army, preaching the gospel of political and economic liberation to the masses and undermining the morale of the opposing armies of the bandit militarists, were students. Many thousands of the modern-trained youth of China have given their lives in the cause of the Nationalist Revolution.

Nanking, the capital, is today the center of a government controlled largely by young modern-trained men. In a cabinet of ten, six have degrees from American universities. Most of the prominent officials of the government are under forty years of age, while the offices and bureaus are filled with yet younger men and women with degrees from modern Chinese schools.

Fifth, the new régime has the characteristics of a crusade of youth. With enthusiasm and earnestness these young leaders are attacking their colossal problems. Ignoring the facts that the government funds are being received from only three or four of the provinces and that hostile factions threaten the overthrow of the present government machinery, comprehensive plans for the political, economic, and social reconstruction of the nation are well under way. A vast scheme for public health is being worked out by a Harvard Medical School graduate, the vice-minister of health. A Chicago-trained educator has outlined a new organization of national education, covering not only schools and colleges but mass education, promotion, agricultural extension training, and people's folk schools. The head of each department is formulating a new program, all directed to one end—the modernization of the nation. If paper plans and enthusiasm could save China, she would be saved already. The present generation have seen so much change in such a short time that further rapid transformations seem very possible to the youthful leaders of the new China.

Unwilling to wait for the longer process of gradual re-education, Nationalist China is determined rapidly to convert the people to the main principles of political, economic, and social reorganization outlined in the national program. The instrument to achieve this rapid change is the slogan. As one passes through the streets literally he who runs may read. On the city walls in huge characters are painted the main policies of the Nationalist movement. Here are some of these slogans, copied at random from the walls of Nanking: "Take back the foreign concessions"; "Abrogate the unequal treaties"; "Unite the weaker nations of the world to fight." Here are a few that have to do with militarism in China: "Down with internal militarism"; "Carry out the policy of road-building by the soldiers"; "Carry out the policy of sending the soldiers for colonization to the Northwest." The following are related to the Nationalist government and the party: "The administration should be made scientific"; "Down with communism"; "The party as a whole has liberty; the members have no individual liberty." The fact that the Nationalist revolution is not merely political but also social is apparent from the following slogans: "Abolish the child labor system"; "Promote scientific education"; "Equal treatment before the law of men and women"; "Down with corrupt landowners and rotten gentry"; "Special treatment in industry for pregnant women and for women during the period of childbirth"; "Relieve the sufferings of the farmers and workers."

A valuable study in social psychology would be the way in which by slogan, folk song, pamphlet, and centrally prepared lecture outlines a few tens of thousands have awakened, instructed, and enlisted the backing and sympathy of millions.

Social idealism, another characteristic of youth, is a marked aspect of the Nationalist movement. Sun Yat Sen not only suggested the outlines of the new political system, but emphasized the supreme importance of the problem of the "people's livelihood." By this term he meant far more than the mere economic prosperity of the masses. He preached the gospel of the intellectual and spiritual liberation of the common people. He saw as the prime means of social progress the struggling of masses for the attainment of a more satisfying and secure life. One of the four principal departments of the Nationalist headquarters of the People's party is the Division for the Enlightenment of the Masses. The head of this division told me that his aim was not to recruit members for his party, but to awaken the inert Chinese farmers and workers to the degradation of their own condition and to stir in them the desire for the good life.

Another characteristic of youth apparent in this dynamic social revolution is the worship of the new, in this case the worship of science. On the Drum Tower at the center of the ancient city of Nanking are in huge characters these words, quoted from Sun Yat Sen: "All true wisdom and special skill comes from science." This, in a country where custom and precedent ruled and where all learning consisted in repeating the thoughts of those who had been dead four thousand years! Nationalist China is using modern scientifically trained experts and seeking to rebuild the nation on the basis of a factual study of her own life, and by a knowledge and mastery of the political and economic technique already worked out in the West.

While foreign help is in some cases being sought, it must not be thought from these illustrations that the outstanding characteristic of contemporary China is the desire to follow foreigners as their guides in the process of reorganization. China has passed through various stages in her attitude to foreigners in hatred and fear; gingerly acceptance of the Westerner's material tools; ardent seeking for the advice and help of Westerners to initiate her education, to organize her industries, to advise her government; and more recently a determination to change her own house in her own way, to make use of only what experts she cares to, to choose her own course, and to manage her own affairs. The present revolution is a Chinese affair. The creator of the ideals of the new nationalism was a Chinese, Sun Yat Sen. The new institutions of industry, labor, government, and education are increasingly Chinese-organized and Chinese-controlled. The special rights and superior status of foreigners in foreign concessions, in courts of law, in church, or in schools, are resented and every effort is being made to abolish them. In the Christian movement Chinese pastors, school principals, general secretaries of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations are rapidly replacing the Westerners. That great charitable foundation, the International Famine Relief Association, is now under the leadership of a Chinese general secretary. Modern China is marked by an extreme opposition to any form of imperialism, which in the minds of the Chinese may mean anything from the superior air of a missionary or a business man to the bombardment of a seaport by foreign battleships.

Sixth, it is impossible to gain an adequate picture of the trends of social reorganization in China without at least a mention of her economic and commercial development. A remarkable feature of the new nation is that while this revolution of mental outlook and of governmental organization has been going on, and during the inevitable chaos consequent to stupendous military operations, trade and industry have been so little affected. With only two slight dips in upward curve, the customs reports show a steady increase in the total volume of foreign trade since 1918. While the rate of increase of factories may have decreased somewhat during the last turbulent years, during the whole modern period the number of factories has been steadily multiplying. While the amount of investments up to date is not impressive, there is no question that the industrial age already started will steadily go forward. The old guilds are one by one disappearing and the familiar combat between capital and labor is developing.

The far-seeing Sun Yat Sen stressed the improvement of communications as the necessary preliminary to the unification of the nation. His son, Sun Fo, a graduate of Columbia, now the minister of railways, a few months ago announced his program for national railroad and road building. The movement for new roads and for motor transportation is under way. In six or eight of the leading provinces a network of dirt roads is bringing together thousands of communities which have been isolated for centuries. Within the last two years four new bus lines have connected Peking with districts a hundred to two hundred miles distant. In northern Manchuria the taxicab has driven the old Russian horse-carriage and the Chinese jinrikisha off the streets of Harbin, while the Mongols, always used to fast riding, have gone into the motor-bus business, and without waiting for the building of roads, are transporting people at the rate of three hundred and fifty miles a day over the plains.

II. Lessons from China for American Social Workers

Is there anything that can be learned by the American social workers from this colossal change in the life of one-fourth of the human race? If this question refers to the technique of case work or the fine points connected with the control and operation of highly specialized social agencies, the reply would be "no."

The present stage is one of wholesale change, not of detailed adjustment.

The study of these larger adaptations of Western methods to Chinese conditions, and the understanding of the new forms of life and the new social institutions that are emerging as a result of the synthesis of China's great cultural past with the institutions and implements from the West, is, however, a fruitful study for all interested in the progressive transformation and enrichment of human life.

It must be confessed that at the present stage the adaptation of Western methods is much more pronounced than the synthetic combination of the contributions of East and West.

We have already indicated that the use of the Russian-forged tool, organized propaganda, has been tremendously effective in arousing farmers and workers to a realization of their backwardness and to an effort to improve their condition, and also in arousing the nation, formerly an amorphous mass of unrelated local groups, to a sense of unity and of national purpose.

A most difficult challenge to China's modern leaders is the finding of a solution to the problems arising from the imposition on a medieval type of self-sufficient rural economy of the modern factory system. To the large port cities, Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, and Hankow, men, women, and children have migrated by the tens of thousands from the villages, at the call of higher wages in the modern factories. With at first no labor legislation and with an unlimited supply of labor, it is natural that the tragic story of the early coming of factory industry to England should have been repeated. The slum is being developed. More women than men are working in Shanghai factories, and thousands of children, some only eight years of age, are employed for a few coppers a day. There has been until recently little or no protection from machinery. The living conditions of the workers from the north who do the unskilled labor for China's greatest industrial center are even worse. They occupy huts on the lowlands that encircle the city under conditions of utmost degradation.

The familiar story of the gradual awakening of the laboring people to their condition and the beginning of a fight between labor and capital are already evident. The last available figures (1927) for the number in organized labor unions gives the total as well over one million and a quarter. The last few years have seen the temporary control of the labor movement by the Communist group, violent, anti-Communist suppression when hundreds of labor leaders lost their lives, and a gradual rebuilding of the labor movement under the supervision of the Nationalist government. Last fall the able head of the Labor Department, Mr. T. C. Tchoo, formerly national industrial secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, after continuous conferences for two months with the representatives of labor and capital in Shanghai, formulated the first draft of the new national labor legislation, later approved by the Nationalist government. It includes provisions dealing with hours and conditions of labor, minimum wage, sanitation, and safety facilities, the provision of factory committees, rules regarding apprenticeship, and even has a provision which makes compulsory to the employer, under certain conditions, either the giving of a bonus or the sharing of profits with the laborer. The Department of labor has for the past year cooperated with the Shanghai municipal government in experimenting in arbitration courts for industrial disputes. The government has promoted the organization of labor unions and of employers' associations, and has supplied facilities for the settling of disputes.

Already the movement for social research along Western scientific lines is well under way. In this field both Chinese and Westerners have contributed. The first social survey of a Chinese city was made by Sidney Gamble and published in his book, *Peking: A Social Survey in 1922*. Dr. W. T. Tao, as head of the China Foundation, has planned and carried through valuable studies in the standard of living of skilled workers in Tientsin and Peking. A half-dozen government and private universities are giving the time of their faculty members to research in population problems, rural industry, prices and wages, municipal government, and many other topics. Professor Lossing Buck, at the University of Nanking, has made valuable pioneer studies in the rural economy of Central and Northern China. The reorganized Chinese municipalities at Shanghai and Hankow have their newly instituted bureaus of municipal research, while the Nationalist government in its various ministries and departments has its special staff of research experts.

In the field of social work perhaps the most striking example of the effective and thoroughgoing adaptation of Western methods to meet Chinese conditions is the program of the International Famine Relief Commission. Not only has it worked out effective methods of handling direct relief for millions of people but it has taken up important measures for the prevention of famine. Among these the organization of hundreds of rural cooperative credit societies, modeled on the German Raiffeisen system, is outstanding. Groups of farmers guaranteeing each other's credit are now able to borrow money at 10 per cent per year instead of the former rate that varied from 24 per cent to 50 per cent. This movement is meeting an age-long need.

Efforts toward charitable relief are not new in China. In countless self-sufficient local communities, the clan looked after the need of its own widows, orphans, and indigent, and the village had its institution for beggars and penniless travelers. The government made available its granaries and its relief measures in time of severe famine. With the weakening of the power of the clan, the break-up of the guilds, and the increasing population trend away from the country to the city, the old local institutions are no longer adequate.

It is impossible to describe in detail the development of the modern social welfare movement in China. I will confine myself to mentioning some of the developments in the city of Peking. For centuries that city has had its institutions for the relief of the aged and the children. The custom of giving to beggars has been universal. The number of welfare organizations and institutions increased between 1912 and 1922 from 61 to 382. A public health center, organized under private Christian auspices with the able leadership of Dr. Louise Morrow has developed into a nationally known government health experiment station with provision for the training of public health nurses. An increasing number of modern-style and well-organized poorhouses and orphanages has been established. A former prime minister is devoting himself to the administration of an orphanage of six hundred children located in the old empress dowager's hunting park. The old style government madhouse has been changed into a well-run insane asylum. The idea of recreation and athletics, first introduced by the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, has found influential adherents among leading Chinese. The Peking Athletic Association organizes intercollegiate sports, while the Palace of the Emperors now opens its gardens as one of the three big public parks of the city. Scores of free night schools for the poor, mass education classes, public lecture halls are operated by government and private agencies. An important private charitable foundation is studying the possibilities of coordinating the many efforts of government agencies and private individuals directed to the outdoor relief of the people. A year ago, with the coming of the new Nationalist government, the Municipal Department of Public Welfare was organized and the Department of Public Health placed under the able leadership of a brilliant young graduate of Harvard Medical School. A dozen other important agencies, including the Prison Reform Association, a school for the blind, and the Door of Hope have also been formed.

To meet the growing need, both in Peking and in Manderin-speaking China, of trained social workers the first training course for social work has been developed as a part of the Department of Sociology of Yenching University. Many of the leaders in social work in Peking are teaching in this school and affording field work facilities.

In several of the industrial cities the settlement movement is beginning. The first was organized by the Shanghai Baptist College in the factory district of Shanghai.

The Commercial Press, Chinese-organized and Chinese-controlled, was the first company to develop a program of industrial welfare work. In recent years the private agencies have laid much stress on the welfare of the laborers, while the Young Women's Christian Association may be credited with the arousing of popular protest against the abuses of child labor in the modern factory.

The trends in social reorganization that show a combination of the old culture and the new Western efficiency are of particular significance.

The new Nationalist government in its basic organization blends with an essentially Western system the elements of the old. The government has five, not three, divisions, having added to the executive, legislative, and judicial the examination and the supervisory yuans, or divisions. Following the tradition of the Confucian School that the scholar must be the ruler, and the precedent of the old examination system, a major branch of the government has as its function the examination and selection of officials. The examinations are open to all, but they are designed to limit the ruling-class to those trained for their work. The Supervisory Yuan is an organ of the government that has its counterpart in the old Board of Censors of the Court. This was made up of elder officials, men of unimpeachable character who were selected to be the mouthpiece of the people and of the laws of heaven in censoring negligent officials. Even the emperor could be called to account by them. In the organization of the government, national, provincial, and even the county, are these appointed groups, whose sole duty is to scrutinize the behavior of the officials. They have the power of audit and can call any official to account before a court of law. Here is an appliance to take the place in a more permanent fashion of Senate committees or citizens' leagues in voicing popular complaint against corrupt officialdom. The present head of the nation's Supervisory Yuan is a foremost scholar of China, Tsai Yuan Pei, ex-chancellor of the National University and father of the renaissance movement.

The emphasis in the entire Nationalist reorganization of group or committee control is a Chinese note. The group has been in charge these centuries in the clan, the guild, and the village. The president of China is chairman of the State Council. The supreme control above the government is in the hands of a group, the Central Political Council. The departments of the government and the ruling bodies of the party organization are committees with the chairman.

The importance of group thinking, and the emphasis of the "inquiry" in group discussion, is not new in old China. Corporate thinking and group discussions are as old as Confucius and as new as the daily squabble on the crowded thoroughfares, where the public forms the discussion group and the disputing individuals, with the aid of the group, have to arbitrate and adjust their difficulties according to the principle of "Li" or "equity."

A most interesting phase of the present reorganization is the growing number of experiments in local community reorganization, in the creation of model villages. Governor Yen, of Shansi, and the Christian General Feng have organized such up-to-date townships as a means of demonstrating what the new life of the republic may mean to the nation. In many other places, under the influence of the Nationalist drive, the old groupings of the country people are being carefully studied and remolded to meet new needs. The reorganized farmers' association, the old chambers of commerce, are combining with newly formed women's clubs and student and labor unions as functional groups in a new local democracy which elects its committees and organizes its commission for local government. From these experiments in a nation which by long tradition is accustomed to corporate action rather than to individual competition, new insight into methods of community organization and local functional democracy will no doubt emerge.

Several significant experiments in social education are well under way. The mass education movement, led by the young genius Jimmy Yen, and characterized by Secretary Wilbur at the

Honolulu Conference of Pacific Relations as "the most significant event that has ever taken place in the countries bordering on the Pacific" has as its dual aim the abolishment of the illiteracy of the masses of China and their education in citizenship. The organization of the classes (at times with a total enrolment of two million members) has been itself a citizenship training movement of the first order. Tens of thousands of merchants, leading farmers, and gentry, in this educational campaign, have, for the first time, combined in local groups to organize and promote a public enterprise.

In order to know what changes need to be made in rural life and what type of education is best suited to the farmer, the national leaders of this movement have, during the last two years, been living in the countryside experimenting in folk schools, agricultural education, and also engaging in research into the life of the peasant.

Another significant experiment in social education is the creation by Dr. W. T. Tao of the National Society for the Promotion of Education, of a new type of rural normal school conducted on the plan of a cooperative group of students and teachers living through the daily experience of the farmer. Students and teachers learn, by doing, to build their houses, cook their food, plant and harvest their crops.

The modern woman's movement has aspects of a synthesis of the old and the new. Long the executive of the family clan, the diplomat who kept in some degree of harmony the relationships between the "sisters and the cousins and the aunts," not to mention the brothers and the uncles, she now has a larger sphere for her prowess. As school principal, bank manager, member of the central political council, leader in social welfare movements, Chinese women have already demonstrated their capacity. Coeducation, the franchise, a large place in industry are assured for the Chinese woman. The month's news tells of a sweeping legal reform giving her for the first time, in the division of the family property, equal inheritance rights with her brothers.

III. Conclusion

I have but briefly pictured the background of this gigantic social transformation and selected a few illustrations of the trends of social reconstruction. The general direction of the change is evident—toward modernization, efficiency, the emancipation of the inert masses, the establishment of the rule of the educated.

First, China's cultural heritage will not be lost. While at present the evidences of the wholesale incorporation of the methods of the West are far more apparent, there is no more danger that the new China will eventually completely discard the heritage of Confucius and the sages than that the West will reject the heritage of Greece and Rome or the Americans the traditions of Puritan New England. The strategy of the moment is revolt and the attainment of economic and international liberation. It is far easier to plan and build a home in purely Chinese style, or in purely Western style, than to make a satisfactory combination of the two types, but that such a combination of the architecture of the East and West can be made is evident from the buildings of the Rockefeller-endowed Peking Union Medical College and the magnificent campus of Yenching University, said by President Woolley, of Mount Holyoke, to be the most beautiful college campus in the world. The few beginnings of cultural synthesis now observed are forerunners of the new culture creation which a more mature China will achieve when she has more fully mastered the tools of the West.

Second, the right kind of aid from the West is needed. With no sense of condescending superiority but because of a nature experience of successes and failures in the West, it is not presumptuous to suggest that the social workers of America have a potential contribution in skill and technique to make to this nation of immigrants—immigrants into a new and at present a largely Western life. The history of the struggles in the West to arrive at valuable methods in the fields of public health, charity organization, public recreation surely have lessons for China.

Our struggle in America to reform the slum, to clean up local city governments, has its valuable suggestions.

Thus far it has been the missionary, so often untrained in technical methods of social work, who has initiated not only the church, the school, and the hospital but also the playground, the public health movement, scientific charity relief, and the methods of social research. But this is the day of the expert. Already three of America's great pioneer social workers, all former presidents of the Conference, have visited China and by their advice and council been of substantial assistance—Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, and Robert A. Woods. The latter, ten years ago, saw clearly the great contribution that a commission of experts in social work might make to changing China. If his vision was true then, it is tenfold more so today, when the leaders of the nation as never before are awakened to the problems of the masses and are committed to the finding of a solution to the question of the people's livelihood, to use Sun Yat Sen's phrase.

While it is clear that such a commission would have a vital contribution, it is equally sure that its members would gain from contact with this dynamic, changing situation new insights into the larger aspects of social adjustment.

Third, there are difficulties in young China's undertaking. Do not be deceived, by having heard this too lengthy description of the hopeful trends in the modernization of China, that the road of these modernists is an easy one or one which can quickly be covered.

To an American newspaper-reading public there is no need to stress conditions of war, famine, and the still more distressing fact of factional jealousy and strife. The learning of cooperative achievement, the sinking of the interests of self or of group in the common cause, is a lesson the learning of which is peculiarly difficult in China. The great struggle is on, however, against backwardness and custom-bound degradation, against the reactionary feudal military barons, and against the restrictions that hamper national autonomy. The earnest hope of all

Chinese is the early assumption on equal terms of a place of fellowship and cooperation with the leading nations of the world.

Fourth, what new type of civilization will China adopt? While the general trend is clearly away from the old and toward some form of the new, the question of what form the new civilization will assume is not yet answered.

Fifth, there are dangers in the situation. The recent threat of China's representative at the Geneva Conference that if the nations of the world did not agree to abolish military conscription China would adopt it, making available a potential army of fifty million men is far more than a jest. Military experts who have observed the fighting of the armies of Chiang Kai Sec and Feng Fu Hsiang have a high regard for the increasing effectiveness of the Chinese military units.

Sixth, China has her potential contribution to world-culture —her art that depicts, free from the rigidity of realistic requirements, the elemental impulse of the race; her philosophy with its emphasis on synthesis rather than the analysis of Western science; her social institutions based on group solidarity rather than competitive individualism; and, finally, the emphasis of her philosophers and poets on tolerance and peace and the quest of her great seers for ultimate world-harmony.

Seventh, give China a chance. Whether, forced by fear for national safety, China is compelled to devote her resources to preparing for defense and to training her millions for future wars, or whether she will give her own rich contribution to the coming world-culture, depends very largely on whether, taking what advice and assistance she cares to, she is permitted to work out her own readjustments to the new age in her own way.

THE NEW MORALITY AND THE SOCIAL WORKER

Miriam Van Waters, Referee, Juvenile Court, Los Angeles

THE social worker has come to be regarded favorably in polite society, and even in impolite society. He is at home everywhere, mingling freely in universities, churches, dance halls, at teas, receptions, cabarets, and in jails. He can walk arm in arm with a minister to a Methodist picnic or with a San Francisco policeman to view the night life. This tolerance is all the more remarkable because the social worker seems to know more about what is good for everybody than they know for themselves.

To speak on the topic of the new morality, or any morality, is to run the danger of foolishness, dullery, cynicism, or pedantry. An unfortunate habit of mind of moralists is that commonly they have a low opinion of mankind, and miserable predictions of its future. To speak on such subjects to social workers in terms which must be general while their own knowledge is definite and specific is a rash undertaking. I have chosen this rashness deliberately. I know nothing specifically or profoundly about the new morality, but I feel strongly about it. So in our discussion tonight combining ignorance and emotion, we may generate together more heat than light.

My plea for your cooperation is an honest plea. Like many of you I have chosen the profession of social work deliberately, and remained in it for twenty years, still believing in it as the most worth while human endeavor, although my objectives have changed many times completely, and in times of crises I have been tempted to believe that to serve the purposes of social service best one should abandon social service.

The social worker, by reasons of his task of dealing perpetually with details, and yet carried on by the impetus of social forces, is like the traveler who must descend to unfasten and refasten many gates. It is experience which thrusts us up against the gates. Those of you who wander in the cattle country of California know what I mean. You drive along and are confronted by a gate in a seemingly solid barbed wire fence. Such a barrier I discovered on the Santa Clara Indian Reservation, so primitively and so ingeniously woven of wire and sticks that I was completely absorbed in solving the mechanical difficulties, like a cruel new mental test. I descended from the car, solved the puzzle with joy, let the car drive through, then methodically fastened myself in on the wrong side. So with the solutions of the case workers' problems. They present so many difficulties of technique and adjustment that the journey itself, the journey toward the fulfilment of the new morality may be forgotten.

Before we can discuss the social worker's relation to the new morality, we must ask what is morality. There are those to whom morality means primarily sex, sex conduct, because sex is the only thing they can excite themselves over. But social workers can be excited also by ideas—ideas of justice, or beauty, or sanitation.

The modern mother gives her child vastly better physical care than formerly, but she depends on the clean bottle of milk left on her doorstep. Social workers would agree that few crimes are worse than polluting that milk supply; to them an immorality of high order, to the police court a misdemeanor worth $25, whereas a sex case might involve a penalty of from ten to fifty years' imprisonment.

There are those to whom morality means only a familiar code, the accustomed way, as to the British captain sent to govern a South African tribe. When asked to insert in his report a chapter on the customs and manners of his people, he wrote a chapter of four words: "Customs, beastly. Morals, none."

To many who have irked under the uplift movement, the term morality means censorship, repression and reform—something in bad taste, timid and cold, frustrated and unlovely. If social workers are unlovable, they have themselves, not their traditions, to blame. The roots of social work push down in the soil which has nourished the great humanists. If social workers seem in the popular mind to inherit from Anthony Comstock and to be the kin of Sumner, they can point to mellower fruit—the vital human interest which produced St. Francis of Assisi, St. Vincent de Paul, Pestalozzi, who was among the first to concern himself with the education of neglected and delinquent children, Jeremy Bentham, who coined the word "international," founded popular vocational education in England, was the father of modern sanitation, banking, reform of criminal procedure, and was held in disrepute as immoral because of his belief that the goal of morality was the greatest good of the greatest number. This same vital interest in humanism has also produced social workers of our age who are humanists, Charles Booth, Octavia Hill, Alice Salamon, Julia Lathrop, Jane Addams, and Dean Kirchwey.

Technically, morality may be defined as the ethical customs of a people as distinguished from Law. Viewed objectively its meaning is neither good nor bad. It is a grammar of life. Our popular judgments of human conduct are like our judgments of grammar. We are offended more by slips in the form than in the meaning.

But morality can have a ringing significance, a challenge, as a way of achieving vitality, a way of life. Then morality is not merely a process of negation and suppression, morality is not some tedious duty; it is the natural flowering of a vital human spirit.

Recently in a class in social diagnosis I asked the students to find descriptive terms for the word *vicious* which they had used in their classrooms of children who were problems, or truants, or on probation. Here are some of the definitions: "bites other children"; "unruly"; "pushing out of line"; "ties a tin can to a dog's tail"; "bad sex habits"; "ungovernable temper"; "addicted to very late hours"; "vicious, corrupt in principles or conduct, wild animals are very vicious"; "autocratic sex practices" (did she mean autoerotic? Perhaps this one spoke more truly than she knew); "vicious: to practice habits of moral discretion." Certainly in a social order based on authority, to practice habits of moral discretion would be vicious. But *we*, in a social order based on conflicting experience, must practice habits of moral discretion.

The time of Calvin is gone. It was self-evident to Calvin that everything pertaining to the perfect rule of a good life "has been so comprehended in the divine law that there remains nothing for man to add to that summary." But to an ever increasing group of sensitive people the old morality is immoral. Who would be satisfied to limit his ethical horizon to the Ten Commandments —"Honor thy father and thy mother that *thy* days may be long in the land." There is more to life than duration. We honor our parents that *they* may live long, and we strive to give and receive a mutually creative response. These were merely the outlines of minimum essentials.

The new morality does not mean that we have a set of new rules concerning the better regulation of sex, covetousness, honesty, truth telling, and human relationships. These rules are the grammar of life, but not its meaning. Our sanctions to the meaning have changed. Walter Lippmann, in his *Preface to Morals*, says: "This is the first age I think in the history of mankind when the circumstances of life have conspired with the intellectual habits of the time to render any fixed and authoritative belief incredible to large masses of men." Whatever the basis—we agree. Let us define: Morality is a factor toward the attainment of an ideal of civilization. But what that ideal is, neither law, government, nor morality can tell us.

Our task tonight is to point out the relationship of the social worker to the changing ethical customs of the modern world. Is he leader or follower? What is his attitude toward human conduct? What is his philosophy of life as revealed in his decisions and technique, his diagnosis and treatment of human problems? In what field does the social worker show his liberalism and humanism: in what fields his fundamentalism? Has he taken his assumptions of the good life, and of the bad life, from religion, art, science, business, popular prejudice, or his own inner conviction?

As social workers the new morality is close to you in your neighborhood. Your neighborhood is the world and it tingles with contrasts. The social worker is more vividly aware of its contrasts than any other class, except the criminal and the press. It is the world of Broadway, Chicago, and Little Caesar, the Park Avenue Church of Dr. Fosdick, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, Folsom Prison, coal, Freud, jazz, advertising, research, censorship. It is a pity that a hundred and seventy-one years after publication a book whose wisdom is indispensable to social workers, Voltaire's *Candide*, is declared obscene. Fortunately most of us have copies.

It is the world of contrasts and confusion—and everywhere the most startling contrast is between speech and conduct—but this in no way makes it different from other ages. The mores shift, but there is also more conservatism. If we act wildly we must talk sanely, and vice versa.

And when people become social workers they are still human beings.

When we come to define the social worker we use different terms to two different audiences. When we are telling the community who the social worker *is*, we say he has professional status. He has submitted himself to academic discipline, scientific training, he has acquired technical skill in the art of human relations, his personality is adjusted, he possesses humor, tolerance, steady persistence, high ethical standards, a sense of responsibility for carrying things through, he does not become unduly discouraged or elated in dealing with human problems that are more or less chronic, he does not succumb to a sense of hurry when he is pressed and overburdened; he is an integrated personality who has mastered the art of helping people out of trouble, and usually he is a woman on a poor salary.

In expansive moments we say the social worker is a social engineer. Sydnor Walker has shown us in her book on the social worker that we do not plan and build communities, rather we are adjustors, maybe the ameliorators, or we just dodge the traffic. The engineer leaves a bridge, a road, a dam behind him. The social worker must not expect what he builds to endure. The more bricks and mortar, the less life; the more organization, the more opportunity for the germ of defeat.

Basically the social worker is the person who delights in individual service. He loves the response that flows between human beings. He loves to free people from their anxieties, fears, and limitations. If he is wise he strives, not so much to lift burdens from overburdened shoulders, as to draw out capacities to carry their own burdens. The social worker is full of contradictions because this delight in individual service has met up with science, and the social worker must always be translating himself into the tongue of science. He speaks it well, without accent, but it is still a foreign language. He subscribes to the community chest, but that does not exhaust his impulse. He wants to know more about those one hundred neediest cases, and to choose a family for himself. He signs the Transportation Agreement, but his imagination is captured by the whimsical improvidence of the gasoline gypsy.

As a member of the profession he acts toward his clients and consultants as if he had a remedy and an established technique for every situation. Is this so? Do social workers turn to each other in trouble? Social workers are as critical of one another as dentists who delay to the last possible moment before they subject their quivering nerves to other dentists. Social workers are like the lawyers of Rabelais, the learned furred law-cats who are leary of one another's claws, and dread coming within reach of Gripe-Men-All.

If you ask a social worker in confidence, "Would you in dire trouble that threatened your life and reputation put yourself in the hands of a family welfare agency, or a society for the care of unmarried mothers, or the Committee on Homeless Men?" what answer do you get? They shrink in consternation. Even in matters of material relief! A social worker at this Conference lost her purse in the Ferry Building. Near by was an efficient Travelers' Aid, and thousands of eager, benevolent social workers, but she borrowed a quarter from an unknown bus driver. In other words, if we went to a social worker we would be very careful whom we chose, and would insist that exceptions be made in our case. We would certainly demand that we sit in on the diagnosis and case conference.

The word "client" is so much better than "pauper," "inmate," "delinquent," or "fool," that we welcome it. The origin of that word is interesting. Under the Roman law the "client" was the dependent of the patrician class. Literally, he was a listener. And buried within the word as we use it today, there is a germ of that original meaning. That is why social workers do not consult one another on personal problems: they are assumed not to have any.

The social worker is the artist. That means he has no philosophy of his own. He is a creator, not of the theme and spirit, but a skilled worker in a medium. As the artist's subject matter and philosophy of life was dictated to him minutely, as Walter Lippmann in his *Preface to Morals* points out, by the church and state, and created by demand, and when the church and state no longer told him what to paint he became confused, turned to landscapes, futurism, borrowed his philosophy from everywhere, and denied he had one, so the social worker does his adjusting, and his developing of social personalities, and frees his channels of social intercourse, and the rest (to use the terms we use of our work today), at the bidding of some philosophy not his own. Science, business, public opinion, tradition make his goals for him.

In the biography of Leonardo da Vinci we learn that he was commissioned to paint the glories of war for a new city hall. He depicted what war meant to him, human bodies crushed, maimed, trampled by horses, human souls in extremity of hate, hideous and despairing. The painter was fired, not because of his art, but his philosophy. The contract went then to the young Michelangelo, who painted an interlude in the soldier's life, a pool of water beside the dusty highroad, hot muscular bodies refreshing themselves, sun gleaming on the burnished helmets; armor, weapons laid off on the cool grass. The scene is caught at the moment of the call of the trumpet to arms, the alarm—the soldiers are reaching for their sweaty clothes, their baking hot helmets. They are eager to be off: duty has called. This painter was not fired. Of his skill there could be no question. It would not have mattered though if it had been a little less than adequate. Michelangelo's philosophy was the philosophy useful then to the Doges.

This is what is meant then by describing the social worker as artist, one who puts values and vital interests into working interrelationships but does not create the values.

In modern life who does create the values and who determines the vital interests? The church does not in the sense of former days. The state concerns itself with administration and regulation. Professional philosophy is so remote from the struggle of daily life, so ignorant of its problems, and so absorbed and deferential in the presence of science that no important contribution in philosophy has reached us from the academicians for a decade.

We are all aware that morality is temporary. What shall we select that is worthy to preserve? There is a changing frontier of ideas, at one point it advances, at another recedes. Are social workers trying to make people do things to fit them into a pattern? A mold rigid today, perhaps broken tomorrow. Are we committing new cruelties because of new fashions in human thinking?

Let us explain the social worker in action: in the field of the family, in race treatment, and in the matter of crime and punishment. In attitude and approach is the social worker testing out the terms and spirit of changing ethical concepts in the light of human experience? Is he borrowing his philosophy from religion, science, or public opinion? Or does he rely on so-called "facts," and meet his problems as technically as a chemist or a plumber?

The family.—To social workers the family is sacred; it is all the more sacred to them because they seldom have any. When James Hinton said the truly dark places of our civilization are to be found in our Christian homes, he was relying on experience, as Samuel Butler was when he wrote *The Way of All Flesh.* Those of us with a different experience should not be shocked, or regard such a saying as perverted; we should seek to understand it. A code of morals is worth nothing unless you have lived through all that stands behind it. From my experience with the families that are broken I would say that they died before they were killed by divorce. The social worker often undertakes in the modern world to restore the Puritan family with its disrespect and misunderstanding of childhood and joy. Yet the Puritan family was perishing for lack of joy, as Synge said of the modern drama.

When it is necessary to use courts of law to enforce family obligations, the social worker has conceded to a materialism unworthy of his calling. The subject matter of social work is the social, moral, and spiritual nature of man. It is not the form of the family that we wish to conserve, but the spirit and substance. When disintegration sets in we are powerless if we call the police.

Burr Blackburn wrote in the *Survey*, recently, "Should Social Workers Boycott the Courts?" His argument was that if the forces of the social worker have not been able to build up in father or mother a sense of growth strong enough to bear the burdens of the family, we, as social workers, lose more than we gain by enlisting the forces of punishment against the offender. He did not say there should be no punishment, but that we should not invoke the punishment. There is much sound sociological wisdom in this argument. We do not understand sufficiently what it is that binds and loosens families, nor how much evil we unchain when we assume the responsibility of coercion.

One evil result is that children are confused in their loyalty, grow hard and vindictive. Sidney, aged nine, whose father was out of work and back in his board payments, complained of his father, and when asked his suggestions as to the remedy of the trouble said, "I have heard it said that you can get a dollar a day in a certain place," referring to the jail.

Wives often are blamed by social workers because they will not sign complaints against fathers on non-support and desertion charges, and aid is stopped. I would agree with these wives that a criminal prosecution is not the remedy. The function of the new morality is not to terrorize man but to vitalize him.

The social worker is called upon to guide families which are not broken, to counsel bewildered parents when their boys and girls seek to make their lives significant in new and interesting ways of emancipation.

Professor Burgess told us the other night that the mores of Chinese youth are changing more rapidly than in America, yet the youth of China are wholesome and have steady nerves. Our American youth is wholesome, but we do not have enough confidence. The social worker should take the lead in reassuring parents, in making them see that true morality implies a constant change of attitude, a vital adjustment. We can find our new morality only among the adventurers and the fearless. Social workers are failures in family guidance when they commit the failure to face life eagerly. If they cannot accept the changing relationships of parent and child, it is because they have subordinated their goals of family case work to an outworn ethical philosophy.

As to the child, the old morality is well illustrated by a term used by an African tribe to describe the child: he is a "sack" because he can hold burdens. "You can take him along on a journey, put your hand in the sack, take out what you want and he can say nothing."

The new morality and race.—Are social workers prevented by public opinion from erasing mutual misunderstandings and prejudice among social groups? Are they prevented by their own case work assumptions, or do they really regard some races—Negroes, Mongolians, etc.—in the way in which public opinion regards them, as biologically distinct, and intellectually inferior? Do they assume that these barriers are permanent? Should they strive to overcome current limitations toward a real participation of the Negro? For example, in our modern life and culture, should they become leaders in altering the regard in which Negroes are held, or should they accept his belittling status, and adjust the situation at low level?

There is, as social workers have ample opportunity to know, no biological, no cultural reason why the Negro should not share life on equal terms with those colored white, yellow, red, or brown. Social workers can study anthropology, and they will be told by Boas and others that the Negro as such is not biologically inferior. Social workers can study the culture-history of Europe or South America, and learn that a high degree of civilization is compatible with an absolute equality of social position enjoyed by white and black.

The social worker, on the contrary, subscribes to tradition. He accepts "Pale Morality," to use the title of a remarkable article in the May issue of the *World Tomorrow*, by Sarah N. Cleghorn. The pale is the wall. There seems to be a general feeling that you really need a pale: you've got to draw the line somewhere, though we may meet in heaven, or our grandsons will meet. In some groups Negroes are walled out, or Jews, or unmarried mothers, or persons who have served a term in jail. If we let the wall alone it might crumble away naturally, but we trim and repair it. Miss Cleghorn's point is that the values we conserve by the pale are really not worth what they cost.

Certainly this is true of the Negro. We admit him to this Conference, and a city which erects a pale so high as to exclude him from meeting with us, or from breaking bread with us, is not a proper city for a social workers' conference to meet in.

We often forget the contribution of the Negro to our social life. Miss Delilah L. Beasley, colored, a newspaper woman on the *Oakland Tribune*, in her *Negro Trail Blazers of California*, traces the progress of the Negro from the discovery of California, in 1535, by Coronado with the Negro guide Estevancio, together with a Negro priest, down to the period of 1846, when under United States rule William Leidsdorff was appointed by Governor Stockton, vice-consul to Mexico. He was a Negro, the son of a Dane from the West Indies and a Negro woman. He owned the first steamer to pass through the Golden Gate; he owned the finest house in San Francisco, the house selected by the committee in which to hold a banquet in honor of the governor. She further traces the progress of the Negro down to the present day, with Negro churches, lawyers, doctors, architects, university graduates in large numbers contributing their culture to our common life.

Many persons came to San Francisco as slaves, and bought their freedom, before the emancipation. With eggs at $12 a dozen this was no easy task. At that time no person with half Negro or Indian blood could be a competent witness in court for or against a white person. Mammy Pleasant grew tired of being pushed off of street cars, and arranged with an attorney to follow her. She boarded a car, was pushed off, brought suit against the railway company, and won it. This was in 1869.

The social worker in the rank and file of the profession admits that cooperation should be extended to the Negro leaders, but assumes no responsibility for breaking down "pale morality" (the wall) fundamentally. The test comes when a child having a drop of Negro blood, or suspected of having, is to be placed for adoption or in a foster home. There was the case of a child recently given newspaper publicity who was white and had lived the thirteen years of her life among highly cultured Negroes, but was forcibly separated from her only friends. I believe she was finally restored to them. Also, the case of a child who has been raised as white, believes herself white, and apparently is white, on the supposed discovery of a part-Negro ancestor, has been assigned to a Negro status. These give us startling illustration of the ways in which a category of thought and feeling, a rigid technique of routine procedure, may displace in social workers a reverence for personality, background, and the life-history of the individual before them.

Of the ten million Negroes in the United States, about 25 per cent only are of Negro pure blood. There is nothing to indicate that, considered from the standpoint of human biology alone, this race intermixture lowers either stock. In South America and along the shores of the Mediterranean, we see that it does not. I am not advocating intermixture. The Negro does not want to be white, if by being black he can get equal health, education, material security, and opportunity for social growth. When, however, intermixture is accomplished in the course of the operation of social forces beyond our control, the social worker's art of adjusting human relationships should not be based on popular prejudice, but on a philosophy based on the findings of anthropology —or the Christian religion.

In some fields the social worker bases everything on science—for example, the policy of sterilization. In some sections we find sterilization proposed as a remedy-technique in feeblemindedness, insanity, epilepsy, tuberculosis. In Missouri it was proposed for a list of felonies committed the second time, including chicken stealing. Science states frankly it knows exceedingly little about human inheritance of defect. The social worker proceeds as if we knew much.

Why the timidity, in the presence of race, which presents a handicap based on prejudice which the social worker could remove by appealing to science, and the dogmatism of sterilization which has not this sanction? In each case the social worker should examine critically the pedigree of the ethical ideas underlying his procedure.

Crime and punishment.—Social workers are willing to ask one another, Where were we when John Bunyan was in prison? but they have not concerned themselves as a group with Sacco and Vanzetti, or with Mooney, though these are clearly cases of perverted use of the instruments of criminal justice. They have not examined the evidence for or against capital punishment. The killing of a human being by the state is believed by some of the most thoughtful wardens, as well as criminologists, to be an ultimate act of violence which vitiates our entire corrective treatment of the offender. We do not find social workers in any large numbers interested. Some seek to have electric lights put in prison cells, better food, and ventilation, but they do not revise their attitude toward the human beings in the cells.

This failure goes back to the lack of clear thinking about the nature of evil. What is evil, as we meet it in the gangster, who shoots from a passing car, the hold-up man with a blackjack, in the shadows of an alley, the policeman who shoots a boy robbing an orchard, or shoots an innocent bystander, or the libeler, slanderer, or jealous, suspicious person who cannot feel loyalty, do teamwork, or forget his ĕgo, the individual who finds nothing too high to spoil, or too low to use to defeat a rival? These manifestations are concrete symbols of evil and they make us afraid. We erect a philosophy of evil based on the idea of some malevolent force, gigantic, powerful, only to be fought with machine gun, electric chair, or, in the case of the rival, to say he is hopeless, and annihilate him by ignoring him.

But who are these evil persons? They are not monsters; they are children who have failed to grow up because of the bad handling of their parents. As our violence toward them is based on fear, so is theirs—they have learned to hate, stamp out what stands in their way, because that is the only response they know to the cruelties and frustration of their childhood and youth. Evil wears a mask of adult power and bravado, as in *Lazarus Laughed*, but when we use the case method, and understand the actual life histories behind the masks we see, as modern psychiatry and social work can show us, that evil wears the face of a frightened child.

A word about this understanding which is at the heart of the new morality. The word appeals merely to two sense organs: touch and kinaesthesis, or the muscle sense. If we stand under anyone and support him, as the soldiers support the captain, we do not by reason of that fact have any vision as to what he is trying to do. We have not insight necessarily. The word insight means to penetrate within by means of the eye, but it does not mean that we touch or love. This language poverty, with not even a single word in the English language to describe the process of a vital creative relationship between the social worker and his client, not a word to describe the interpenetration of personalities, indicates that we have not invented the word because the experience is either too new to us or too vague.

The mystics seem to have found the process itself by withdrawing from the laughter, sordidness, hard work, bigger and better business, and loud talk of their fellow-men. But we social workers must find it in San Francisco, Boston, and Minneapolis. Discovery of a term to mean both understanding and insight, plus power to create, between those who see and understand, a force capable of lift, is of less importance than the thing itself.

At present we note the immaturity of the social worker's ethics. His morality is a portrait of himself with his background. His values are fixed less by personal conviction than by prevailing tendencies of scientific thought and social approval. But he is an artist, like other artists, and deprived of his philosophy, because of the general disbelief in religion. In so far as he is an artist, let him remember that the task of the artist is not regulating, limiting, and forbidding. An art must vitalize, warm, illuminate, and humanize. Material security is essential to morality, but one who lacks a firm conviction of the importance of life cannot be either moral or religious.

All human beings desire to make their life-journey significant, to be wanted by others intensely. The social worker should delight in the personal idiosyncrasy of each person. A social worker is one who likes men and women and children as they are, not as they might be. No rehabilitation is required to make a human being worthy of respect.

Social workers who are in despair over the new morality have had only a meager experience. As Schopenhauer puts it, "You cannot see in another man any more than you have in yourself." High morality like high religion is invisible to the one who has none.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND PROGRESS

Paul U. Kellogg, Editor, The Survey, New York City

FOR always and always we have gone to the poets and the painters for our images of rural life—laden orchards, upland pastures, smiling fields, crackling hearths—above all quiet pools where cattle stand knee-deep and nuzzle the lush grasses. But from the days when the first mill wheels clacked to the tune of running water to the days of the great impounding reservoirs whose turbines spread electrical energy for hundreds of miles, and throughout all the decades of the industrial revolution between, dominated by coal and steam—our images of industrial life have been those not of quiet pools but of swift streams. Manchester, Essen, Pittsburgh, and the other smoke-hung centers of Western industry are not sleepy river towns, but the very weirs and sluices through which rush these new currents in the affairs of men, catching them up and hurtling them forward.

It was from hydraulic engineering rather than mining or farming that Mr. Hoover and his associates quite naturally drew analogies in their reconnaisance of American prosperity.[1] They saw acceleration rather than structural change as the key to our recent economic progress—the elastic rise of mechanical power, of credit and wages, of the wage-earner market and consumers' wants. They marked the unevenness of our prosperity geographically and industrially, and pointed out that with natural resources still wastefully exploited, with agriculture and coal mining below the general level, with whole regions retarded, we must bring these things "within the stream of successful economic forces." And for recourse, they give us a new pursuit to add to life, liberty and happiness. We must achieve equilibrium: "We cannot maintain our economic advantage or hopefully realize on our economic future unless we consciously accept the principle of equilibrium and apply it skilfully in every economic relation."

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[1] *Recent Economic Changes in the United States.* 2 vols. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Now, it's unlikely that we shall come upon youthful banner-bearers with this strange device, or sky-signs pricking such polysyllables against the night. Since the issuance of the report last spring there has been no shout: "Give us Equilibrium or give us Death!" Yet the absence of such equilibrium may mean the denial of that livelihood which is the bread and salt of modern existence. We pay higher wages and maintain a higher standard of living than any other nation. But we have given scant heed to the human backwash of our rapids of production.

Hoover and his associates point out that unemployment may arise as a result of industrial efficiency as well as of inefficiency, as a result of the new machinery and the new processes and the accelerated rate of readjustment of the human element these call for. The time has come, they say, to devote continuing attention to the newer problem of technological unemployment "if we are to forestall hardship and uncertainty in the lives of the workers." Our boiler-rooms and power-houses have become the altars of a less friendly providence than that which hung over the hearthstones of the rural life of old or the fireplaces of our western settlement.

Equilibrium, if it is to take its place as a national goal, must concern more than the poise and tensions of the great functional groups in our business of producing. It must get down to the footing of the individual. Hundreds of generations have gone into establishing his equilibrium in agricultural society, his getting as offset by his spending, his venturing as against his conserving, his individual freedom linked with his participation in the common governance of the community. Three or four generations with us, a dozen in the large, have gone in to contriving a corresponding equilibrium in our new industrial civilization.

We prize our free initiatives. We hail the advances of applied science which give us new tools and more goods. We welcome the advent of new speeds and motive powers. We are coming to recognize the existence of a growing and persistent body of industrial unemployment due to causes outside the control of the workers themselves; and not to be confused with the out of work due to sickness, drunkenness, shiftlessness, or other personal factors. We are coming to have a new concept of much modern unemployment, and its twin, irregular employment, as hazards of modern production, as needless by-products of industrial change and progress, as man made things which man can compass and control.

It may be a good thing to have our lot cast in the temperate zone, with nipping frosts and snow clad hills alternating (over half the continent) with the mantling warmth of summers. (Farm life is adjusted to it; it has haymows and potato cellars for winter.) But it is a bad thing to let the seasons play fast and loose with household incomes in our cities because we have not worked out schemes to take up the slack when the snow flies. It may be a good thing for competition to run the gamut from business failure to consolidation; but it is a bad thing for the vicissitudes of private commercial enterprise to turn workers adrift without public employment agencies competent to realign them again as producers. It may be a good thing for changes in consumers' demands to shift from one fabric to another, one model to another; but it's a bad thing to leave working class communities without leadership or earnings for months at a stretch. It may be a good thing to introduce changes in power equipment and technological processes which augment production; but it is a bad thing if, while stockholders and consumers gain, we pay no heed to what becomes of the workers let off—with their skills, and their families, their whole scheme of life left dangling.

These are the people who drop through the fissures of our prosperity. Their number we do not know, for we have not even begun to count them in comprehensive ways as the basis for intelligent action. But there was scarcely an industrial city in the country which last winter and the winter before was not conscious of their presence in mounting numbers. There is scarcely a social agency represented in this Conference which has not been confronted with the end-results of this process of disintegration.

The usual method in focusing attention on any problem is to segregate it and look at it narrowly. I should like to begin the other way and consider unemployment in relation to some of the primary values which we had more or less worked out to equilibrium in our earlier agricultural economy: energy, for one, becoming in its personal sense, that free play for individual initiative which we like to think of as the American opportunity; liberty, for another, becoming in its collective sense, self-government—the democratic control by average men over the main business of living; security, for a third, the conservation of life—what in this Conference we call the social welfare.

It will be seen that as I have defined them, these goods are not mutually exclusive. They dovetail and take color from each other. They are integral parts of the equilibrium by which free men lived and worked together.

How far have we maintained and preserved them in the face of the swift economic changes about us? How does our showing stack up with other great industrial nations? Here I should like to make some comparisons between English and German and American experience.

Essen and Pittsburgh are fairly of an age as modern work centers go, the Industrial Revolution in England antedating them by several generations.

My first visit to the Krupp plants at Essen was twenty years ago. I had been spending the better part of a year with the staff of the Pittsburgh Survey, which in 1908 attempted to assay life and labor in the American steel district, to gauge how far human engineering with us was matching mechanical. We needed comparisons for Pittsburgh—Pittsburgh with its youth and instigative energy; its great tools, fierce heats, and amazing production; its laboratories and libraries and art museums; but also for a Pittsburgh whose workers were many of them shamelessly housed, which lagged in its application of science to health, which was working vast numbers of men twelve hours a day and seven days a week, which had all but relinquished every vestige of self-government in the ordering of its work. The unions had never regained the footing they lost in the Homestead Strike of the nineties, and spy systems and unlimited supplies of cheap immigrant labor gave the great employing corporations the upper hand. The American steel district was run from the top and still is. Crystal Eastman smashed two stereotypes with which we were confronted at the start of our investigations in Pittsburgh—the myth that 97 per cent of industrial accidents were caused by the carelessness of the men, and that other myth that they were all due to the ruthlessness of the employers. But the stark reality she found epitomized the negative side of our developing industrialism. In twelve months five hundred men had gone to their death at their work in the mines and mills and railways of one American county, and nine-tenths of the income loss stayed where it first fell, breaking the backs of the households of the men killed. Pittsburgh stood for initiative but at cost of old liberties and young lives.

In Germany I was to see factory rooms filled with imported machines (the outcrop of American inventiveness), these machines plastered with German safety devices (to make good American neglect). The men at these machines were protected by insurance (such as no American state then afforded). And in the great steel center at Essen I was to find housing colonies and commissaries to cut down the cost of living, accident and sickness compensation, and old-age pensions, and all manner of schemes that conserved life of which Pittsburgh was so spendthrift, that made for security which Pittsburgh lacked. For as the Krupps saw it, if they took a farm hand and trained him as a factory worker, and he were incapacitated, it was a loss to the industry. But here, also, everything was run from the top; the workers were fast in a ponderous mesh of paternalism, only less rigid than the military hierarchy to which it was a cousin. It was a relief to get over to Dusseldorf, where the German people still did things on their own, from co-operative housing enterprises to municipal provision for recreation, as they had done since an earlier century when, tradition has it, Beethoven himself was once the town bandmaster. It was a greater relief to get across the Channel and feel the tang of British liberty.

By chance my first day in England was spent in Canterbury. There I encountered the "hunger marchers" who had come down from London to hold a meeting in the nave of the old cathedral and, so doing, knock with their bare knuckles on the heart of England. They were led, I remembered, by an eccentric Scotch attorney, his chief lieutenant an ancient antimachinist who had draped around his neck a green curtain cord with which he proposed to hang the "husband of the King's big sister." They were unmolested in their agitation. Such was Britain's freedom; and it stood up to the tensions of the war years far better than our own.

All England was suffering twenty years ago from financial depression and thousands of men were out of work. Every morning, they told me, there were fished out of the Thames bodies of working people who had given up the struggle to find jobs and thrown themselves from the embankment. Here, also, something was out of gear in the scheme of life and labor. I was baffled, and the preacher I heard at St. Paul's the following Sunday gave me no help. To his dour mind, the social unrest was a wild fire to be stamped out for God and country. But that afternoon at Westminster Abbey I heard a sermon of a different sort; and, afterward, in a study off a quiet quadrangle, I sought out the white-haired dean who had spoken, and whose service to his times is now recorded in a bas-relief in the ancient abbey. This was Canon Barnett, who in his youth had gone to the East End of London and founded the first of the settlements, Toynbee Hall, that coign of social insight and understanding from which Hull House and our other American settlements drew their inspiration. I told him of these things.

I told him of the zest and youthful energy, the ruthlessness toward life, the denial of democracy in Pittsburgh; of the conservation of health and strength coupled with the negation of self-control in Essen; of the hunger marches and the freedom which had become liberty to starve on his side of the channel. Even now I can see Canon Barnett's face and hear his quiet speech in answer. It was as if he held a crystal in his hand and read meaning from its troubled depths.

He pointed out that England in the old time had finely ordered the business of life, with liberty and self-dependence ingrained therein, but all this had been caught in the grappling mechanisms of the industrial revolution. These were taking generation after generation of English youths, squeezing them for what they had to give, throwing them aside. Theirs had become a scrap heap for civilization. Somehow or other, he said, England must work out a new balance between liberty and life. So must the rest of us. Germany had not found the answer under her autocratic arrangements, nor had we in America in our impetuous foray into industrialism.

Ten years later (1918) and the World War had shut down like an iron curtain on international comparisons. Pittsburgh and our other industrial centers were speeding up as never before to make the world safe for democracy. Essen was the great armory of the Central Powers. That winter in war-time England, I attended the Labour Party Conference at Nottingham which, under Ramsay MacDonald's leadership, called on allied labor to unite with them in stripping the war aims of the allies of imperialistic commitments. But it was as a nascent domestic force that I was struck by this conference of broad-cheeked, pipe-smoking Englishmen, most of whom had been in the trenches or had sons there at the time. They took the slogans of the war in earnest. They were fighting for England, their England, and they proposed it should be theirs after the shouting died, an England worth fighting for. They were stretching their tent ropes to include workers with brain as well as with hand—tactics that in ten years have brought a labor government to office, drawing on all productive groups in society, but marking the advent of the workers to political power as, a hundred years ago, the Napoleonic wars had led to the rise of the middle classes. Sidney Webb had drafted their program for a new social order which broke with the scrap-heap scheme Canon Barnett had denounced, and which struck a new balance between public control over the common services and the sources of wealth and the English penchant for individual liberty. And meanwhile the coalition government had set up Whitley Committees, a first sketchy plan of bringing a structure of self-government into industry comparable to the old civil structure.

Again ten years, and as a delegate to the International Conference of Social Work in Paris, I revisited Germany and England. In this new decade, with the war rending the texture of old ways the world over, it seemed to me that, however unevenly, there had been gropings toward Canon Barnett's formula. And this in spite of the seamy side of our prosperity in the United States; in spite of lockouts in the Ruhr and hungry villages in the British coal-fields. Fascist Italy and Communist Russia may forge ahead at this salient or that through dictatorship, but the self-determining peoples of the world must look to themselves and pay for their slow thinking, their love for independence, their rounded desires for initiative, liberty, and security.

In Berlin, I was to stand in the shadow of the Bismarck monument and see President Hindenburg walk down the steps of the Reichstag building to the shouts of the crowd on the anniversary of the setting up of the Weimar Constitution. Successor to saddle maker and a socialist, the old field marshal is playing the game of a republican which comprehends the beginnings of economic as well as political democracy. In the great electrical works and chemical plants I was to see the strides in applied sciences that register gains in human initiative no less than new conquests of physical energies. In Essen, I was to sit with leaders of the works council who were mollifying the old paternalistic structure, with representatives of unions who had locked horns with their employers and eliminated the twelve-hour day in steel. For in this works council system, Germany is the first modern state to set up a structure of industrial negotiation and government that parallels the political structure—a beginning, but prescient.

But it is in the development of its scheme of social welfare that the new Germany challenges the world. Not only did all classes suffer in the war which ended in defeat and the overthrow of the empire, but they were overwhelmed in the subsequent inflation and economic collapse. Distress, if not semistarvation, was the common portion, and this had affected the whole public attitude toward poverty and the hazards of existence. These are no longer looked on merely as private concerns. And to its system of sickness, accident, and old age insurance has now been added a scheme of unemployment insurance, grounded on a tested employment exchange system. Security, no less than democracy, is a watchword of the new republic. The ringing in of a republic in Germany is scarcely more significant than the rise of the Labour Party to power in England in the same decade. We can trace the former in terms of our own experience: begin with the free spirit of the Hanse towns, mark the revolution of '48 which brought Carl Schurz and others as exiles to America, and hail the ultimate popular recoil against absolutism which came as the afterclap of the World War. The mantling democracy which transforms a political state recalls our past.

What is happening in England is of the future, and it is harder for us to find ourselves around in it in imagination. Here we have the emergence up and through a modern scheme of representative government of a new and farther-flung sovereignty —the last and widest in sequence to kings and barons and commoners of yore.

Here we see the rank and file of an industrial civilization developing their own leadership and setting out to apply the principles of political democracy with new and arresting sincerity to the economic establishment—and to attack Canon Barnett's scrap heap, not by force and violence, but by the use of the very tools of suffrage and parliamentarism fashioned by nineteenth century liberals. At the same time in England, we are witnessing twentieth century liberals coming forward with a national program which in turn traverses this new ground with refreshing and constructive radicalism.

Ten years ago, in war-time England, thanks to Arthur Gleason, I sensed the loosening of forces long battened down. In ten years, his prophecies have come amazingly true and we are only at the threshold of their potency. Last summer I was to observe the outcrop of those forces in a by-election in Wales where for the first time the common folk of vale and village voted for a leader sprung from their own kind. He was a university man, a major, a barrister, whose illiterate mother had helped him earn his way through Cambridge as a lad. In a big hall crowded with electors whose grandparents (and often whose parents) could neither read nor write, a racy vicar caught the crowd with his Gaelic wit and brought down the house by pointing this mother out on the platform—"with a new bonnet on and a feather in it." And how the Welsh songs, with a colliers' choir leading, breathed the spirit of the people. The outcome of that by-election was a harbinger of what took place throughout the British Isles a month ago.

Ramsay MacDonald, Arthur Henderson, and James H. Thomas—three of the men I had seen in action at Nottingham ten years before when the Labour Party was a much bedamned minority, three of the leaders of the present ministry—had come out from London to carry their gospel of insurgency from city to countryside. At every station where we stopped the train hands would crowd around Thomas, the chief of the railroaders; the local party workers would gather at the window of "Uncle Arthur," the Labour Party secretary, now foreign minister; but the young people would bank another window where Ramsay MacDonald stood for them as the personification of this new mid-fire of aspiration which is running through British life.

But this rise of labor on the political field is only half the story. The other half is the experimentation going forward in the ordering of the day's work, in ways which not only permit but willingly engage the all-round participation of the workers themselves. I spent two days in a Manchester metal works where industrial democracy is no longer two large words, but a tough-going concern. Two trade union shop stewards, chairman and secretary of the works council, rather than my friend the managing director, took me through the whole process of production in which they share to the advantage of the whole enterprise. The works council has as complete reports of sales and production as has the board of directors; they help work out the adjustments when new machines are introduced and function whenever problems are up which concern both men and management. This larger sharing in the say of the day's work has released new reserves of interest and energy on the part of the workers.

Last summer in London, revolutionary conferences were going forward between leading British employers and representatives of labor. They were examining the whole arc of industrial production on the basis of research and rationalization. The men who sat at opposite ends of the table were significant of the new front—the one, Alfred Mond (Lord Melchet), and the other, Walter M. Citrine, the young general secretary of the Trades Union Congress. The one a manufacturing chemist, the other an electrician—their vocational approach to the problems confronting British industry in these critical post-war years epitomized the shift of an epoch. New energies, new resources, new incentives—but the old British genius for working things out together, which lies back of the fact that while they have built up an empire, they have cherished the roots of self-government at home.

The economic pressure that is back of these new salients thrust forward on the political and industrial fields is registered in the great bulk of unemployment in England since the war—reaching its climax in the coal field, where the bottom has dropped out of the scheme of living for whole villages and districts. Nothing short of heroic measures will readjust the tens of thousands of workless miners. Unemployment will be the special charge of Thomas in the new labor ministry.

So far as its general incidence goes, England has developed a scheme of unemployment assurance against as great odds as it would have been to float a new life insurance company in the midst of an epidemic. We hear a great deal said in disparagement of the British "dole." But, precisely speaking, that name applies to the allowances paid to war-time munition workers and soldiers during the difficult years of reconstruction when work was scarce; and the insurance system itself should be considered separately and on its merits. I spent half a day with the business man who directs the employment service in Leeds, and looked in on a committee of citizens who were hearing appeals in the cases of men stricken off the list because of their failure seriously to seek work. For the insurance benefits and the employment exchange are the two complimentary parts of the system. Had it not been in operation in the days when most of the industries in Leeds were down and 70,000 people were out of work, there would have been riot and bloodshed on the streets, the director told me. Last summer they had 8,000 unemployed wage-earners receiving benefits. When they get the number down to 5,000, he said, the system would be solvent locally as straight insurance. That is the premiums paid to workers on pay, and employers would match the benefits given out to workers out of work. Meanwhile, it was as if a factory with 8,000 men and women on its payroll was keeping going part time. It not only gave the unemployed workers a cushion against dread and starvation; it gave them something to pay landlords, butchers, and bakers. Instead of the spiral of local prosperity always being pressed down, here it was jacked up. Meanwhile, through their employment exchange, they knew quickly of work openings in the district, the sincerity of the man out of a job was tested, and some measure of modern organized efficiency was applied to the task of re-engaging him as a producer. Every morning Leeds knew exactly where it stood in the matter of employment—and public works could be schemed so as to dovetail instead of conflicting with private operations. No American city has such knowledge or such a system—but the citizens of Leeds, I was told, managers and men alike, would no more go back to the old tragic dishevelment than they would abandon their city fire department and their mutual fire insurance societies on the contention that every property owner should look out for his own building.

Have I said enough to make clear that social progress, as it is emerging in Western Europe, under the stresses that the war brought, is not a narrow thing to be measured by a single national excellence? Still less are these modern peoples content to measure it in money, or quantity of output, or the prosperity of the few. There is a new appreciation of energy, of the instigative abilities and incentives without which neither self-dependence or advance is possible. But there is a mounting insistence that the people most affected shall themselves have a say in the ordering of things and that what Justice Brandeis calls "social invention" shall match mechanical, the discovery of those team plays by which free men can work in concert without losing their freedom. There is profound conviction that no nation is economically healthy and solvent which does not set a fair bottom level below which it shall not let the hazards and vicissitudes of modern organized production press down the individual and the family.

Energy, self-control, security—how have we forged ahead in the United States in these same twenty years? The thumping vote rolled up at the polls last November at least demonstrates that in spite of the pessimists we have not abandoned political self-government. We still vote against *en masse*, and are learning to vote for. Our gains in bringing democracy into our working life have been sketchy. We still think more in terms of industrial cleavage than of industrial cooperation. In the South we see repeated the grueling community experiences of the mill villages of the North; hired help warned to keep their place.

Yet it was in a railroad repair shop in the steel center itself that the Baltimore and Ohio and the machinists' union united in experimenting with a new triangular set-up, the unions employing an engineer to collaborate with the technicians of the management, not alone in clearing away grievances but in regularizing employment and developing efficiency. The showing was such that the plan has been adopted by two great railway systems. The former president of one of the Pittsburgh steel companies was quoted to me recently as saying that there has been nothing less than a revolution in the attitude of the companies toward the human factor in production. Progressive managers and engineers, psychiatrists, and personnel workers are building up piece by piece the art of organizing work on a different basis from the old motivations of fear and dictation. In the garment trades we have our outstanding demonstrations of the possibilities of union-management collaboration both in shop governance and in augmented production. Yet, as a whole, we are a long way from carrying over into the economic field, now that we are half of us urban industrial workers, the principles we worked out in our civil arrangements as an agricultural people. We must turn to other fields for our greatest advances.

Just as the Germans have built on their national aptitudes in developing social security to new estate, just as the British have unlimbered under new conditions their ancient penchant for self-government, so we have reinforced and carried to new lengths our genius for initiative. American machines and cars and tractors go out to the ends of the world, and American scientific management is the object of study and adaptation everywhere. In combustion engines, electrical appliances, giant power, we are putting energy at the elbow of humankind as never before.

But if we are to take a leaf out of the experience and planning of our great contemporaries we cannot afford to center on one value in our industrial society, at the expense of others. Only a lopsided progress would thus issue. And when it comes to the third measure by which I have attempted to assay English and German developments, we have an entirely meager showing.

I refer to the security of the human integers in our industrial organization, and to the households they stand for. True, we have made great strides in the conservation of life and health in the last twenty years. We have applied science to our bodily well-being. True, the twelve-hour day is gone in steel and much child labor has been weeded out. True, in those twenty years we have carried through a revolution with respect to one great hazard of modern production—industrial accidents. We have applied safety engineering to the risks of the day's work. We have held that the old common law of master and servant, and the employers' liability laws that were based on it, no longer fit the great tools, the high speeds, the fierce powers, and mass effort displayed in modern production. We have adopted in state after state workmen's compensation laws by which human wear and tear is made a charge on industry, and through insurance spread out on to the consumers so that with every yard of cloth or ton of coal or mile of railroad travel we buy, we pay a bit in order that the burden of this risk shall not come down solely on the killed or injured worker, breaking the back of his home, and scotching his wife and children.

We have grappled with the accident hazard in industry. But with respect to the hazard of industrial employment, which ravels life and livelihood as devastatingly, we have left things at loose ends. With each recurring dip of the business cycle, we have embarked on emergent schemes of relief, forgetting all that we learned in the intervals. We have no statistics of unemployment that are worth shucks. We have let our national employment service dry up since the war. We have failed to enact legislation providing for throwing public works into gear when industrial operations slacken.

In 1921, on President Hoover's initiative, our first National Conference of Unemployment was held. It dealt not only with programs for emergent relief but took up some of the underlying causes with resulting action. Our building trades have addressed themselves to the problems of seasonal employment. Certain corporations have undertaken to cut down their labor turnover. The publication of statistics of stocks in hand has made for greater forethought on the part of merchants and manufacturers and thus made for regularity. The Federal Reserve system has been a conserving force with respect to booms. These and other influences have tended to sustain our prosperity, as brought out last month in the report of the Reconnaissance Survey of Recent Economic Changes instituted by President Hoover. These things have made for stability; a great good, but not synonymous with security; and the Hoover Committee experts point out that even in the most prosperous of the seven fat years under review there was a huge body of unemployment. Its personnel might change, but its persistence was unmistakable. It stands a challenge to us —to do something about it, if we are to come abreast of the modern world.

In the words of Owen D. Young, chairman of the General Electric Company, "unemployment is the greatest economic blot on our capitalistic system." And Senator Couzens, Mr. Ford's old partner, has declared that "the time has got to stop when men can be hired and fired at will without respect to their economic condition." President Hoover has written:

> The whole problem belongs to a vast category of issues which we must as a nation confront in the elimination of waste if we are to maintain and increase our high standards of living. No waste is greater than unemployment, no suffering is keener or more fraught with despair than that due to the inability to get jobs by those who wish to work.

Progressive employers and managers are aroused to that challenge. In a recent number of *Survey Graphic* we brought out how it had been tackled from one angle or another in their own provinces by makers of farm machinery and motor cars, by packers of dates and canners of vegetables, by manufacturers of shoes and tissues and floor wax and hats. Yet their numbers are pitifully small. The average American corporation will pay rent and taxes, interest on its bonds, and deliver to its customers the high quality of product contracted for. But it does not regard its payroll as a fixed charge. It takes men on and off without regard to the human consequences involved. The rule of ethics does not run to regularity of employment. In the city of Detroit practically every social agency and thousands of households were burdened for the year when our outstanding American manufacturer changed the models for his cars. Ford's lay-off was the average lay-off, only on a monumental scale, and it scotched a whole community. High wages, low interest, and market demand rates have combined to put pressure upon industrial executives to instal machinery and institute changes in process which cut down the cost of production. Very likely, it is for the good of industrial progress that the individual manufacturers should be free to make changes in equipment, motive power, models, output; but, if so, then some collective methods must be worked out to realign the workers as wage-earners and to cushion the transition so that these changes do not disrupt the livelihoods of whole districts. A new point of view, a changed frontage, as to this growing hazard on the part of all concerned in our industrial operations is needed; and there it is that the challenge falls to the social workers of the country to bear witness as to what Mr. Hoover calls the greatest waste in American life.

The National Federation of Settlements, under the presidency of Charles C. Cooper, of Kingsley House, Pittsburgh, has been the first national body of social workers to take up that challenge. During the last six months a committee has been at work under the chairmanship of Helen Hall, of University House, Philadelphia, and the secretaryship of Irene H. Nelson, of Union Settlement, New York. At their annual convention in Chicago earlier this month, the committee made its preliminary report. Neighborhood centers in thirty cities in twenty-one states collaborated in turning in three hundred schedules. These deal with breadwinners on every occupational level, skilled and unskilled, clerical and mercantile. Practically all the trades are represented. Many of the case stories show a long work record with one employer before unemployment came (in one case forty years, in several more than twenty). The participating settlements were asked to avoid cases in which personal causes were a chief factor. The chief industrial causes of unemployment in the order of their frequency were depression and other business vicissitudes, seasonal slackness, oversupply of labor, mechanization, and market changes.

In these last named causes we have indications of some of the sources of the new unemployment—ranging from a driver in South Boston who lost his winter's work through the introduction of artificial ice, and his summer work by the supplanting of teams by motor trucks, to a mixer of inks for color ads in a Philadelphia printing house whose skilled work was displaced by a machine. Here is a Mexican painter in Chicago who was crowded out by the spray lacquer system which requires fewer men, and here a wood worker in Cleveland who lost out with the market change from wood to steel. So the cases run, and in their wake a reiterated experience of broken work, a steady degradation in the kind of work, until the casual labor level is reached.

No less uniform is the sequence of makeshifts to which the unemployed families resorted. First, cash savings were used; next, readily available assets were realized; jewels (watches and wedding rings), often clothing, and articles of furniture were realized upon. Charitable relief was sought often only as a last resort. The families moved into poorer quarters; sometimes there were repeated movings. Insurance policies lapsed, mortgages were foreclosed, promising children were forced to leave school, even to forego learning a trade, in order to take a job that brought in a few dollars. The mothers went to work, and food was pared. Teeth and ailments were neglected, and in case after case the effects of malnutrition were noted. Babies were born only to die because of insufficient food and exhaustion of the working mother.

> A family in Pittsburgh were in debt to the grocer, the butcher, the doctor, not to speak of being behind in payments on their house. They could not possibly afford diet for three children convalescent from pneumonia or the special diet of fruits and green vegetables recommended for a fourteen-year-old daughter with heart trouble. A longshoreman, out of work in Philadelphia, was beset with obligations he could not meet. Several of his eight children had defective teeth and tonsils. After the birth of the baby, the mother was advised to eat green vegetables to build up her failing strength, and also to buy surgical stockings. This was impossible as they had not even carfare to take the baby back to the hospital three times a week to have her eyes treated. A woman in New York, whose husband had only five days work in eleven months previous to the unemployment study, and who herself earned $12 a week in a factory, was virtually the family's only wage-earner. "I got some troubles too that pulls me down," she said. "The doctor said I should rest and have an operation. But I haven't any time or any money. I stay up till one, two, three o'clock every night trying to keep the house clean and the children's clothes fit to wear to school. Maybe next summer if he [her husband] gets a job, I'll get a chance to rest up."

So the stories run of the back-breaking effects of change and progress of a great industrial civilization borne by those least able to sustain their weight. Stories of courage, of fortitude, of self-sacrifice, of neighborly care. The mother who starved herself that her children might not suffer is only one. And especially are they stories of the great anomalies of our industrial system.

We have instalment buying, part time payments, all manner of schemes by which a working man's household may mortgage his income for months ahead; but nothing to give him any surety to that income. As a producer, we dovetail him into a vast mechanism of production, beginning with his foreman and the bench he works at, and ranging through huge contrivances of machines, power plants, shipping offices, banking, and commercial ramifications. But as an unemployed man, we leave him with his bare hands and shoe leather. As Professor Slichter has pointed out, the worker who is dislodged by a decrease in the industrial staff through production changes is worse off than the man thrown out in hard times. The latter "is without work, but he does not necessarily regard himself as without a job or without an employer."

The investigation of 754 workers carried out by Isador Lubin, of the Institute of Economics, for the Senate Committee on Education and Labor bears on this point. Less than 10 per cent of the men got their old jobs back after discharge. Only 188 were able to secure jobs in any way similar to those formerly held. Of the 410 persons who had found work during the period studied, 9 had secured their jobs only after eleven months of searching, 70 had been unemployed for six months or more, 171 for more than three months. Only 11 per cent of them had been able to get steady employment within thirty days of their discharge. What would we think of a sales service for washing machines or electric refrigerators, for life insurance or building lots, that would make such a showing? Or would leave it to loose and disorganized and discouraged men to do the selling? Yet these men had labor to sell. They were riveters, wire rollers, grinders, pipe fitters, weavers, spinners, punch press operators, cement mixers, musicians, cabinet makers, yard men, general utility men, draftsmen. The majority of them were between twenty-one and forty-five years of age. Has America no inventive genius to devise some plan by which such desirable efficiencies and skills, such tangible bundles of productive energy as these men had to offer, can be marketed without a wastage such as no business could stand, without going bankrupt?

What is to be done about it? Where can social workers take hold? In the view of one of our keenest observers of American life, this problem of security is going to be the great social cause of the next ten years. Once the public is aroused, to his mind, the engineers and lawyers and technicians will work out a way. The public is waking up. We have had the inquiry of Senator Couzens' Committee. We have the forthright challenge of Henry S. Dennison in the *Report on Management for the Committee on Recent Economic Changes.* The Industrial Relations Counselors, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the Department for Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation, and the American Management Association are centers of interest and information. The railway brotherhoods and other progressive labor bodies are alive to the situation. In St. Paul and Minneapolis the University of Minnesota has collaborated in a local study. In Cincinnati, the city manager has appointed a commission widely representative to take up the problem throughout the neighboring industrial district. In San Francisco the Commonwealth Club has been active, and there has been proposed a survey covering the whole coast. In Louisville, Kentucky, the Family Welfare Society, and in Lincoln, Nebraska, the Community Chest are taking the lead. You who are here could tell of similar developments elsewhere.

For this is one of those chambered nautilus situations where beginnings can be made close to the ground and at home. There is not a town or district in the country where a nucleus of active people cannot count. They can get at the facts of the local situation. They can help set going a campaign for regularity of employment among the employers of their community in the same way that local industrial safety campaigns are carried out—and with equal call on self-interest and public spirit. They can urge a program of public works reserves on city and county and state governments, so that road building and other public enterprises can come into play when business is depressed. They can organize a local employment service which will be something more modern than the old job getting agencies, and a friendly alternative to the commercial offices with their sharp practices, a service which will draw into its operations some of the things that we have learned from vocational counseling and psychology, and will have an eye not only on what is to be done for the man out of work but on the annual influx of young men and women seeking work for the first time. Here is something that will engage school teachers, social workers, "Y" workers, Boy Scout leaders, employers, labor leaders—a galaxy of vocational interests now largely unaligned though baffled with particular phases of the problem. Such a nucleus would be a center for discussion and opinion that could join with similar groups elsewhere in securing state and federal action looking to an adequate statistical service, to public works reserves, to the rehabilitation of our public employment offices on modern lines, to commissions to canvass the need for industrial employment reserves after the manner of the commissions of inquiry that ushered in our compensation laws.

For while it may be that the English and German systems of unemployment insurance will not fit our national temper, the challenge of their performance is inescapable. They have thrown a bulwark of protection about the households of their working people against a measurable, recurring, and devastating hazard of modern production. They have set up able organizations to bring the work-needing-man and the man-needing-work together with the least waste motion. With fragmentary exceptions, we have done neither of these things. And the things we have thus left undone are the measure of the insecurity of our people—of our ineptness in setting straight and sound the family underpinnings of this new industrial society of ours. So long as we neglect this great human need, our progress is lopsided and lame.

Mr. Lee, in his searching presidential address, drew a distinction between causes and functions—between people who bring things about and those who carry them on. Rightly he said they were both needed in social work in the United States today. But to my mind this differentiation is not so important as a common approach to life and its fashioning which runs through the creative reaches of both groups. The apostle of a cause is a balloonist so long as he does not ground his proposals on the facts of life about him. A functionary is a mole so long as he does not see the significances that lie imbedded in the day's work. Now, in contrast, on the one hand, it has been the distinction of some of our most notable and constructive social causes that they were grounded on mosaics of human experience. Such has been the workmen's compensation movement, which massed the human consequences of an outworn body of law which was wrecking homes and burdening hospitals and orphanages and relief organizations. On the other hand, it has been the distinction of some of our most notable and constructive social agencies that they have read the meaning of the cases that come to them, studied them, interpreted them, shown their import, and become leaders of opinion in behalf of affirmative change. In both relationships to the realities of our contemporary life, the attitude of mind has been at once scientific and dynamic. I should agree with Mr. Lee that the achieved cause results in new ranges of function; and I think he would agree with me that functioning which is alive throws off the clues and impulses which make for new causes.

We have need in America today for prophets to write new parables of the new times we live in—of men out of work in the midst of prosperity, of year-round households and broken working time, of mechanical contrivance and social disintegration, of all manner of credit schemes that entail a wage earner's income for months ahead while his chance to earn it is left in jeopardy, above all, of "smoking skylines and idle men."

And the prophets who will count for most are the social workers who are close to the "aching realities" in which these devastating tendencies are minted in the lives of the men and women and children we deal with. If a flood or fire or epidemic should wreak such human damage, the public would be aroused to it. For the social workers who know these end results of industrial dislocations to keep silence is as if the doctors should care for the victims of preventable disease and fail to throw their weight for health measures. Unemployment is not merely the concern of bankers and employers, managers and labor leaders. Social workers are above all competent witnesses to this needless by-product of industrial change and progress—to the need for a better way.

THE SOCIAL WORKER AND POLITICS

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THE presidential campaign of 1928 was unique in its significance for the social worker and raised more sharply than ever before the question of his participating in politics. Not since the days of Roosevelt's crusade for social justice have the issues of national politics focused so closely about the domain of social work. Never before in our history have the candidates for president been men of actual experience and large achievement in the field of public welfare. Never before has the measure of that achievement been made the subject of so much debate as an important qualification for the presidency.

Taft was a great judge and administrator, Wilson a reformer and political scholar, Hughes had cleaned up the scandals of the insurance business in New York, Cox was a popular governor in a populous state, Harding a political accident, Davis a distinguished lawyer, La Follette a courageous leader of a liberal minority, and Coolidge was said to have broken the Boston Police Strike. In the campaign in which these men participated, the familiar issues of corporate control and social justice, the tariff, the war and foreign affairs, economy in government, and, more lately, prohibition were uppermost in public discussion. Most of them were still dominant in 1928 but there was a new and distinctive note. Hoover was an engineer who had fought the hunger of starving peoples in many lands and had come to grips with the specter of disaster of the Mississippi floods in his own country. Smith for more than twenty years had successfully fought the battle of protective legislation for the sick, the poor, and the disadvantaged. Throughout the campaign there was talk of social statesmanship and public welfare in terms which were familiar to the social worker, and he became conscious of the fact that some of the things that interested him most had become part and parcel of the subject matter of national politics.

It was natural, under the circumstances, that the two major parties should seek the backing and support of social workers and that they should feel a peculiar willingness to respond. Committees were organized in behalf of both Mr. Hoover and Mr. Smith, and statements by groups of social workers favorable to their respective choices were issued. There were many among us, however, who questioned the wisdom of our participation in politics as social workers. It therefore seems worth while to review the question in view of the fact that the influence of the social worker is steadily increasing throughout the country, and with the growth in influence the pressure for political action will, in all probability, increase proportionately.

There are said to be 25,000 social workers in the United States, of whom approximately 4,500 are members of the American Association of Social Workers. The strength of the group is not measured by total numbers nor by the growing solidarity of interest through professional organization. It lies rather in the gradual acceptance of the social worker by the community as one skilled in the art of adjusting human relations, and the recognition that there is inherent in that skill a measure of authority and expert judgment in public welfare questions. This means, as it has meant in the other professions such as law and medicine, that the social worker will be looked to more and more for leadership—the extent of that leadership will depend upon his willingness to accept the responsibility incident to it and his capacity to develop statesmanship of the highest order—able, informed, and broad-visioned, capable of applying the particular experience gained in many fields of service to the wider problems of governmental policy and administration.

We have always had among our number a few such leaders, but their authority has grown out of an inherent taste and capacity for participation in public affairs. The demand of the future is for a much larger number of leaders who can guide public action by interpreting the accumulated experience and understanding of the profession of social work. Our contribution to public welfare then becomes not alone a matter of individual performance but the concern and responsibility of the whole professional group. Leadership in the march of social progress cannot be achieved by remaining entirely aloof from political activity. But to engage in certain aspects of it raises serious questions which in the last analysis must be answered by each individual in the light of his own individual situation. Here as elsewhere in life there are occasions when one's self-respect or the promotion of the causes one holds nearest his heart will demand that he stand up and be counted. There are other occasions when to refrain from entering the political arena may be the best course or, at least, a desirable self-denial in the proper discharge either of one's immediate obligations or in the attainment of his ultimate objectives. On the other hand, it is easy to find what seems to be good reasons for inaction which are merely a cloak for timidity and inertia. The man who never gets within the range of the guns will never be wounded.

What are the types of political activity in which the social worker may wish to engage? At least five may be cited by way of illustration: first, initiating and promoting social legislation, including adequate appropriations for public welfare departments and institutions; second, securing the appointment of properly trained personnel in public welfare departments; third, promoting and maintaining good standards of service in public welfare departments; fourth, encouraging the establishment of new, or the extension of old, public welfare services; fifth, participating in the election of public officials who are peculiarly acceptable to social workers because of their records or beliefs on welfare problems as well as by reason of general qualifications.

Social workers have always engaged more or less in all of these activities. Only the last one mentioned necessarily involves the social worker in partisan politics. But it should not be overlooked that frequently the only way to reform public welfare administration both as to personnel and practice is by putting in office men who are sympathetic and intelligent in the field of public welfare, and the same is often true in the matter of social legislation. In other words, partisan politics may prove to be a convenient or necessary short cut to a desirable result. Moreover, while the political support of men or parties raises problems for the social worker in their most difficult form, open participation in public affairs in any of the ways previously suggested also presents difficulties for the obvious reason that the social worker is not a free agent but the employee of the board of directors of his organization. In the public mind his action may be interpreted as having the sanction of his board, thus, by implication, committing the board members and the organization as a whole in a way which may be distasteful and embarrassing. This danger is enhanced by the fact that a social worker does not usually identify himself to the public by his name alone but by his title as well. John Brown's support of old age pensions is one thing, but John Brown, the secretary of the Family Welfare Society, is another and the advocates of pensions won't mind if the public assumes that Brown's action carries the indorsement of his society as well.

A further difficulty presents itself. The community in which John Brown lives is conservative and against "socialistic notions." Old age pensions are regarded as a plain form of socialism imported from Bolshevik Russia. Shall Brown publicly espouse pensions and thus jeopardize the support of his society and perhaps impair its usefulness in the community by arousing antagonism on a matter which is collateral to the day-by-day job of the organization? If he does he may shortly find himself in need of the pension. In this connection it is worth noting that a simple vote for La Follette without undue publicity or public activity in the election almost lost one social worker his job.

It is unnecessary to multiply the illustrations or to elaborate the problem because the underlying difficulty is clear. As social workers we have obligations and responsibilities to our boards and for the successful prosecuting of the work of the organization with which we are associated. On the other hand, we are human beings with judgments and opinions which are our own and for which our self-respect demands utterance. We are prone to think, too, that the promotion of our beliefs will serve the public welfare and we desire freedom to act according to conscience and conviction in the discharge of our obligations to the community as a whole.

We may profitably approach the problem by considering to what extent political action is a responsibility both of the social worker and his board. Board and staff are engaged in a joint enterprise. The knowledge, experience, and point of view gained in the prosecution of the work is, or should be, common to both. Within the scope of the work of the organization, the need for administrative or legislative reform should be understood by both the lay and the professional worker. Naturally, however, the urgency of the need is more immediate and vital to the worker on the job than to the board members, and the latter represent points of view and opinions which affect their consideration of any question having political implications. I recall a board meeting called by a large family welfare society to consider old-age pensions. One prominent and influential member announced in the course of the discussion that the society had no business going into the question at all—it was a matter for economists and politicians. In the end the society took what seems to me to be the sound attitude. It decided that some kind of security in old age was necessary as a matter of decency and justice to aging persons, and that an organization which was created to care for the needy, including the aged, might properly be expected to have an informed judgment growing out of its long experience in that field. A committee was appointed to study the question and report back. Whether the society will ultimately take formal action is still an open question, but the decision that old age security was not the exclusive concern of economists and politicians was clear gain. One point seems to me to be clear, namely, that a social service organization is under obligation to make known the facts of its own experience as they bear on a particular social problem within the range of that experience. More than this, if a substantial measure of agreement can be arrived at within the board and staff, the organization should be willing to go on record publicly for or against a particular method of dealing with the problem. It is not contended here that every proposal with a welfare label should receive favored treatment nor that every social measure should be passed upon by every social service agency unless the subject matter is of common interest and concern. It is also well to remind ourselves that perfunctory and superficial action will seriously impair the influence of any group. Every social service institution is a storehouse of facts which can and should be put to use in promoting the public welfare intelligently.

Here is the challenge, then, to the social worker that he establish with his board the principle of its obligation to study, consider, and act upon matters of public concern on which it may properly be expected to have a judgment, thus offering to the public its fund of information and a wise leadership growing out of its experience. If in the course of this procedure the board and staff find themselves in agreement, as they frequently will, the social worker will not be faced with the dilemma referred to earlier in this paper and he will have brought to the cause the broad influence of a responsible group of citizens.

But what shall be the course of the social worker when he finds himself in disagreement with his board? Having submitted the issue, shall he willingly abide the result and refrain from any public action which would be subject to misinterpretation or which would tend to disrupt his organization? In general, this would seem to be the proper course. Repeated conflict between board and staff can have but one result and that to the detriment of work which needs to be done. Occasionally, however, there arises a question of such importance that it arouses the response of deep conviction that will not be silenced, in which case the social worker who is worthy of his calling will take his stand and abide the consequences, willing and ready if necessary to offer his resignation without a show of either martyrdom or bravado. In every profession convictions that are worth anything are sometimes costly to uphold and social work is no exception. It remains to be added that while the final determination of the matter rests with the board of directors, a high sense of respect for the worth of personality may properly lead to the conclusion that an executive with a conscience and backbone is worth more than a weak hireling without opinions. The test of tolerance and fair-mindedness may be applied with equal force to employer and employee.

There still remains to be considered the participation of the social worker in party politics and the election of candidates to public office. A distinguished member of this Conference once chose to support publicly a radical candidate who was in much disfavor in a particular community. Several members of his board objected, and he asked for a meeting of the board to discuss the situation. In a prepared statement he gave his reasons for voting his choice and defended his right to absolute freedom of judgment in that regard. He asked that the board go on record as to the principle involved. They did so and fully approved his position.

Two questions are raised here: one is freedom of choice and the other is freedom to express that choice openly or to associate with others in doing so. To both of these questions I offer an unqualified and uncompromising yes. It is unthinkable that any person, much less a social worker, should feel constrained to exercise his franchise in secret and with the furtive movements of a thief in the night lest somebody refuse to contribute a few dollars to the organization with which he is connected. In the last presidential campaign several members of the Conference associated themselves in a committee to support Mr. Smith as others did Mr. Hoover. Some of our friends in various parts of the country who were asked to join the committee replied that it was not within the province of social workers to take such action and, further, that the formation of political committees of this sort was contrary to sound professional standards. I respect the decision of anyone who, for reasons satisfactory to himself, refuses to join any committee, political or otherwise. I do not quarrel with the social worker who prefers to vote his choice without disclosure of his intentions; there may often be reasons of policy which convince him that this is wise. But I deny that there is any rule or policy of the profession or any obligation to any organization with which he is associated which prohibits a contrary course. The decision as to voting and as to open association with social workers or others in promoting the candidacy of his choice is his and his alone, and this principle should be recognized without prejudice by every fair-minded board of directors in the country. Every member of such boards would unhesitatingly assert the right for himself and he cannot justly deny it to others, regardless of the character of his relation to them. Quite apart from this aspect of the matter, I see no sound reason affecting the profession of social work itself which would suggest that like-minded social workers should not act in concert to secure the election of suitable public officials, particularly when issues of public welfare and social progress are at stake.

If it be granted that every social worker has the undoubted right to decide his own course of action without restraint, it follows that this right must be exercised if it is to have vitality and continued recognition. In view of the tense feeling which usually accompanies election and the animosities that are aroused, the social worker is subject to the temptation to avoid difficulties by remaining silent or neutral, even in situations in which he has a real urge to do something. It is easy to find good reasons of principle or policy for inaction when timidity or inertia are the real paralyzing factors. As social workers we are an employed group and on the job are subject to the final authorities of our employers. It is the more important, therefore, that we free ourselves from direct or subtle influences and controls when the occasion calls for independent judgment and action. No profession can enjoy a vigorous growth if dominated by the "hired hand" psychology which inhibits the expression of conviction and weakens the will to act. College professors have recognized this danger and have attempted to meet it through their National Association and otherwise by promoting within their group and in the public mind an acceptance of the principles of academic freedom. Intelligent people no longer assume that a university is committed to a political program or a particular candidate for office because a group of its professors support the cause or candidate. Universities, with some notable and distressing exceptions, are coming gradually to this point of view. The only way to achieve freedom is to exercise it, and the only way to develop public acceptance of the social worker's right to think for himself is by actually doing so.

Now a second danger of the "hired hand" psychology lies at the other extreme. The consciousness of repression or control sometimes leads to a chip on the shoulder attitude—a grumbling, small-minded belligerency which is always "agin the government" and never happy save when nursing the delicious wounds of actual or expected defeat. Some people love martyrdom as a perpetual state of mind and are never really free. It is in no such spirit that the true social worker approaches this question of his personal and professional relation to public affairs. He has always been conscious of the dignity of his calling and his professional organization—the American Association of Social Workers—has served to deepen his sense of responsibility to the community and the task.

In the fulfilment of his ideals and objectives the social worker is destined to play an increasingly active and dynamic part in shaping the course of our political and social life. We shall have better public welfare service, more adequate legislative protection, and more socially minded governmental administrators if we can unite our efforts with others in the community toward those ends. In the fields of our own special experience and training, the community may properly expect to have the benefit of our knowledge and judgment, it may also expect from us a measure of leadership. In meeting this obligation we shall want, first of all, to analyze our own tasks and the needs and problems of those whom we serve in the light of possible governmental action and policy. We can make laws and government serve human need of every kind only in so far as we fully understand the nature and extent of those needs and have assurance that the remedy proposed is adequate and appropriate to the desired end. This is no easy undertaking, nor one to be entered upon in a casual or spare-time manner.

I have suggested a few of the difficulties of participation in public affairs by social workers. A fine balance of discriminating judgment, sense of obligation, and courage are required of each one of us in deciding when and how to resort to political procedure. Within limits the board of directors and the staff of any social welfare organization are a single unit working together as a group. Outside those limits the social worker is also an individual human being and a citizen in his own right. He will serve himself and the cause of social progress with greater humility and strength when he chooses his course without timidity or bravado but in the exercise of an informal and self-reliant independence.

DIVISION MEETINGS

METHODS OF ORGANIZATION AND INTERRELATIONS IN THE CHILD CARING FIELD

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SOME CONCLUSIONS BASED ON A SERIES OF STUDIES BY THE CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

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WHEN we come to analyze the conclusions that we have reached out of the many studies undertaken by the Child Welfare League of America in various parts of the country, we cannot but be impressed by the great diversity in development that exists in the various states and cities. This diversity is evidenced in many ways but principally as follows:

1. Some states have undertaken a much larger measure of public service direct to children, which in other states is being rendered by private agencies. Contrast, for example, the children's work of Massachusetts and New York, of Minnesota and Wisconsin, of New Mexico and Texas, of Alabama and Georgia.

2. Difference in age of the state plays a part in the stage it has reached in its development, in the complexity of its organization, and in the completeness of its program of child care. Compare, for example, New York and Pennsylvania with Wisconsin and Michigan.

3. A great difference in the industrial conditions has had an effect in emphasizing and creating organization for child care; for example, compare Ohio with Georgia and Texas.

4. Even in cities of the same size there is a great difference in the development of social work and specifically of children's work; for example, compare Cambridge, Massachusetts, with Tulsa, Oklahoma, and Buffalo, New York, with San Francisco.

There are, however, certain underlying general needs apparent in all sections of the country as expressed in the field of children's work, and there are certain generally accepted principles of child care. The application of these various principles requires much adjustment to local sentiment and local needs. They are based in large measure upon three assumptions: First, when we deal with individuals, whatever the agency may be, we are safe in making our plan only after a careful investigation of all the circumstances; second, the various children's agencies, however they may have been started, and however they may be supported—either by contributions or by age-old endowments—are public trustees for children, and it is incumbent upon each to find its place in the community's program; third, no community's service to children can be founded on mere kindness and good will—it requires trained leadership and staff.

1. It is now generally accepted that every child's problem requires a case work approach. Whether the child is to be received into a foster home or a children's institution, whether a dependent or a delinquent, and whether the service is to be public or private, an initial thorough intake study is needed.

2. It is now recognized that there is need for an adequate special probation service for every juvenile court, as the probation officer is often, if not usually, a more important factor than the judge. Many communities still appoint an estimable lady or gentleman without special equipment to be probation officer, but not without protest from those who have some appreciation of the service to be rendered.

3. We have now come to recognize throughout the country that we like to have every institution approximate in its form of organization as nearly as possible the size of the family group. Even in congregate institutions this is attempted. Construction is now more often than formerly on a cottage basis.

4. We recognize the need of after care in planning for a complete service by institutions. The term is not a happy one, but the idea that we are aiming to express is that the child is still in

care whether he is in the institution itself or has passed out of its portals.

5. We have come increasingly to recognize the need for using the results of other scientific experiments and services, namely, those that can be made available from the fields of medicine, psychiatry, psychology, and law.

6. We have begun to discuss the proper allocation of children, so that we may decide on a defensible basis just what form of service the child who gives us concern is in need of, in order that he may have the right chance in the community, whether it be foster home care or institutional care.

The application of these and other principles in our study of institutions, agencies, and communities as a whole, necessarily has led to a great diversity of recommendations, for no two cities seem to develop their facilities in just the same way. A presentation of some of these recommendations cannot be thought of, therefore, as having more than a general application. On the other hand, those that have been selected have an application that is more than accidental.

Institutional care.—In the study of the several hundred institutions whose work the League staff has analyzed, we have had reason to emphasize the following elements in their programs and their forms of organization:

1. There should be men as well as women on the boards of directors of the various private children's institutions. Sometimes a few select men are graced with the title of being trustees but are given no opportunity to do more than advise on the investment of endowment funds, the construction or remodeling of buildings, and on the raising of money. Asking men to do this when they have no conception of what the real program of the institution is has often led to serious mistakes.

2. With a broader conception of the function of the institution in the community, there should be an executive in charge who understands the various phases of child care, including case work necessary at the intake and after care stages. A matron might be

needed to undertake the distinctive management of the building just as help might be needed in the case work department.

3. The executive of the institution must be chosen from among those who can provide real leadership to the board and to the institution itself, so that it may obtain a position of influence in the community. In the past, and altogether too frequently even at the present time, there is a system in vogue in the various institutions whereby committees assume responsibility for the smallest details and do many things that should be in the hands of the executive. For instance, why should an efficient executive not be able to transfer a child on a doctor's orders to the hospital without calling up the chairman of the hospital committee and asking her to make the arrangements? We have frequently recommended that twenty or more committees be boiled down to three or four. It is needless to say that such an executive will always be needed at the board meetings because of his leadership.

4. The addition of case work to the institution has become a popular move during the last year or two. This is rarely wise unless it is to be made an integral part of the work of the institution instead of merely a means of asking some questions more effectively. Too frequently a case worker is put in an impossible position with respect to the executive, either being made independent or being expected to interpret case work to board and executive, who are quite ignorant of what the addition of case work implies and unwilling to accept its consequences.

5. We have frequently felt it desirable to urge that children be sent to the public or parochial schools. The contact which the child gets with the community is always in danger of being slight. By contact with the extra-mural schools the child learns much that he can never get from books or from the life in the institution itself. To encourage these community contacts, we would also suggest that children in the institution be given the opportunity of sharing membership in the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, whose troops could be filled in part by those who are outside the institution; that the children in the institution have the opportunity of going to public playgrounds or accepting invitations to

luncheons and other functions outside of the institution, and in turn might invite their friends in for similar contacts.

6. No single recommendation has been made as frequently as the organization of a real health program. Not only is it necessary that every child have an examination to determine the state of his health when he comes in, but also such a careful going over that the remediable defects may be discovered and he may have a follow up service on the part of nurse and doctor that may bring the desired results.

7. The low salaries to cottage mothers or other assistants of institutions are fertile causes of poor care in the institutions. This is coming to be recognized to some extent, but is not yet being corrected as rapidly as it should be. That more extensive vacations, and particularly weekly relief, would lead to the interesting of a better grade of women in institutional service is not yet well recognized. If institutions are to continue to play an important part in the care of children, as we believe they will, the quality of service must be at least as high as that available from those who are nursing our sick or who are teaching our children in the schools. Our house and cottage mothers must not be recruited from those who have worn out their welcome in other lines of service.

Foster home care.—Coming now to foster home care, we have made certain specific recommendations that may have a general bearing.

1. Just as it is important that every institution have an intake service, so every agency placing children in foster homes must have an investigation department. The intake of every children's organization is its strategic point. In view of the limited financial resources available to most private and public agencies for children more advantageous changes have been wrought by refusal to accept children when some other equally good or better plan for the child can be found than in any other way. Careful intake and adjustment work is the foundation of any good foster home program.

2. Foster home agencies that have restrictions as to the kinds

of foster homes to be made available are hampered in making their work a complete success. When an agency is limited to either boarding, free or adoption work, some children will get the wrong kind of service. Elimination of restrictions as to the kind of home care available is therefore important.

3. Free home care is still of value in our programs and adoption is an important episode in child placement, but wherever either is made the principal part of a program it quickly shows its limitations and the whole program easily and often reverts to a form of institutional care with limited child placement work attached.

4. Private foster home care that receives children by commitment at so much a week from public funds is constantly menaced by heavy case loads. The agency rarely receives the full amount of board. It must supplement, and besides provide from its own resources for supervision and other professional services which the child needs.

5. Public and private home care for children should be developed together in a community, though by separate agencies, as soon as the case load of a successful private enterprise outruns the private resources or when the per capita payments from public sources are not adequate to provide service as well as care.

Home finding requires especial skill and is the most neglected part of the organization of a foster home program.

Children's protective work.—We have also reached certain conclusions regarding children's protective work, which may be summarized as follows:

1. This form of service is the least organized of all the various divisions of child care. The abuse and neglect of children is found in all of our communities. Children's aid societies, family welfare agencies, juvenile courts are all dealing with certain segments of the problem and generally with but little special knowledge or skill. In view of the fact that much of the delinquency comes out of homes of neglect, the importance of the children's protective work can hardly be overemphasized.

2. In this field close cooperation and dovetailing of programs are perhaps more needed than in any other, since the case problem coming to it usually reaches it only after other agencies have worked with the family.

3. When it stands alone it seems to indicate a tendency to become rather unbalanced, uncooperative and sometimes legalistic, and so interferes with the development of the court and public service. Since in many instances the child needs to be removed from the custody of his parents, at least for a temporary period, it is advantageous that the children's aid function be closely coordinated with the children's protective work. It is, therefore, in many communities best combined with the children's aid program, but with a special staff of its own.

Relations and combinations.—One of the problems that has come to the front during the last few years is the relation which child welfare has to family welfare work. We would like to suggest certain fundamentals relating to this troublesome subject.

1. All the various forms of case work deal with individuals in their family relations, and from that standpoint may be considered family work, but should be distinguished from family welfare work.

2. The children's program is itself the most complicated program in the ordinary well or partially developed community. It has many diverse units, such as institutions, child placing agencies, maternity homes, protective societies, big brother work, and so forth. All these need to be knit together into a good working program with logical consolidations, and sometimes without any consolidations, but on a cooperative basis. The consolidation of family welfare and child welfare work because both are forms of case work dealing with children fails to recognize the logical development of the children's field. A children's agency is, as a rule, but one segment of a larger children's program, with which its services, therefore, need to be coordinated rather than that it should become a part of a family welfare program. If consolidations are advisable they are more logical in the various divi-

sions of the children's field, which a consolidation with a family agency usually makes impossible.

3. Smaller units, with populations not exceeding 50,000, may advantageously develop a case work service on an undifferentiated basis, but with the growth of a city the children's work is more likely to have a normal development if it is allowed to develop alone.

Application of case work to institutions.—The application of case work to institutions has already been referred to in the foregoing but needs some further analysis.

1. In an institution having more than thirty children, the executive, even though skilled in the work, should not attempt to be both superintendent and case worker but should have help on one side or the other. The phenomenon is still found where a superintendent of an institution having from 100 to 1,000 children thinks that he can do the case work. The futility of such a program is apparent.

2. The executive of the institution should be expected to understand the fundamentals of case work, in order that he may interpret it properly to his board of trustees, and, if possible, direct it. As has previously been said, the adding of a case worker to an institution has so far usually been a tragic performance. There is a natural conflict of interests between the superintendent of an institution who does not desire case work, or if it is desired, does not understand its values and its implications and the director of case work. Such a superintendent or matron is apt to reach the conclusion that case work is for the purpose of keeping children out of the institution or drawing them out as rapidly as possible. It is extremely difficult for one not having any appreciation of the values of case work to realize that responsibilities of the institution are not limited by those that are under care within the walls. Such responsibilities begin when an application has been made, whether the child comes into care or not, and end only when, with or without a period in the institution, the child has been properly adjusted either into his own family or into some other family relationship in the community.

While there are community situations which make it advisable to develop a case work service jointly for various institutions, it is advantageous for the proper understanding and appreciation of the service that the case work should be an integral part of the work of the institution itself, and happy the institution if it can integrate case work directly into its own program.

Maternity homes.—The maternity home and the care of a child born out of wedlock must be considered together.

1. In many communities there is no case work service attached to the maternity home except such as the matron herself in her busy life, or an interested board member, attempts to render. It goes without saying that case work is needed in every case coming to a maternity home.

2. While as a rule with other forms of service we aim to locate the responsibility for care of non-residents upon the community from which the client comes, in unmarried mother work this is not always possible and often not advisable, if possible. In view of the fact that other communities are doubtless rendering a reciprocal service to those who do not belong to them, it is necessary to be lenient in the application of the settlement or resident principle with this type of problem.

3. Follow up service is usually neglected with maternity home cases. When we come to realize that the problem of the unmarried mother and her baby is perhaps the most complicated social problem we have to deal with, it is easy to understand that the right solution will not come without a service for adjusting the client either back into the community from which she came or into the life of a new community.

4. There is a tendency to have the obstetrical service provided by general or special hospitals and to have the maternity home provide prenatal and postnatal social and medical care. To this there are at present many exceptions, and such a recommendation depends upon the form of organization, and upon the equipment and attitude of the medical men of the communities in question.

The institution as a social agency.—With the addition of social service to institutional care, so that it becomes an organic part of the institution's work, it is not inconsistent with present developments to have that institution become the general children's service unit of the community. In order that it may do this, the board of directors must cease to think of the institution as being the main part of their enterprise, but instead must recognize that they equip themselves for the service of the children of the community in which their work is located, must develop a social staff for intake, for adjustment, and for follow-up, and must recognize that the institution is intended principally for the temporary care of a child to which they want to render the kind of service that is most needed.

The development of the children's agency.—Nor is it inconsistent, with the development of children's aid societies, that their program shall be enlarged. Such a program in a good sized city may have the following departments: a staff for intake and adjustment work with the families of children for whom some other plan can be made to receive them into care; an institutional staff, equipped to give such care as each accepted child needs; a staff for home finding and for placement back in his own home or in another home, and for his close supervision and perhaps later adjustment; a staff of big brothers, working under a competent director, who understands the fundamentals of case work and the use of psychiatric service; a staff for the investigation and intake of unmarried mother cases, and for maternity homes that do not have their own service; a staff for protective work for children, that is skilled in the use of the law and is in close relation with the courts; a staff for the intake and adjustment work for such institutions as do not have their own case work service.

SOME CONCLUSIONS FROM A SERIES OF STUDIES BY THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE

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TEN years ago the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference began the series of social studies which this paper attempts to discuss. Ten years is rather a brief period upon which to predicate conclusions from activities that are inherent in changes in our social attitude and policies. The chief, perhaps the only, element of homogeneity in these studies is that of purpose. They were designed to orientate the social problems of the particular diocese under observation in the life of the church and the general community. All were undertaken at the request of the bishop of a diocese to examine the present needs and probable future demands upon the Catholic charitable and social agencies, and to chart a program based on such a revision of their functions as was indicated from the findings. The effectiveness of each in its own field in relation to current standards of social case work and administrative policies was studied. The necessity for these social studies was commonly accepted as a means of furthering cooperative and coordinating enterprises between Catholic agencies as such, of examining the line of division between the responsibility of the church and the general community for preventing and curing defects of our social life.

The studies classify themselves into two groups indicating scope and purpose—those dealing with problems affecting an entire diocese and those relating to individual institutions or agencies operating within its limits. In the first group are the studies of two archdioceses and seven dioceses: New York in

1919 and Toronto in 1922; Pittsburgh; St. Cloud, Minnesota; Des Moines; Newark; Brooklyn; Springfield, Illinois; and Davenport, Iowa. The Pittsburgh study was made by the National Catholic War Council and the others, beginning with St. Cloud, followed, in chronological order, at the rate of one a year until the summer of 1928. Studies of institutions have been made in one archdiocese and three dioceses. For the diocese of Rochester two limited studies were made which were not in any sense surveys, but were rather services which other national organizations would include in their regular field work.

One study, national in scope, was undertaken at the request of the National Council of Catholic Women. In 1924 the Department collected information on boarding homes under Catholic auspices for employed women and girls living away from home. A bulletin for the use of local councils was printed, giving data on equipment, standards of work, methods of financing, and the extent to which these homes were meeting in their local communities the housing requirements of the selected group for whom they were organized. In addition, the Department of Social Action cooperated with the National Conference of Catholic Charities in making a study of family welfare departments in five diocesan organizations of charities, directing the field work of that study and preparing the report.

In four of the eight dioceses for which complete surveys were made the population was largely urban though all of them had extensive rural areas. Because social problems in rural dioceses differ so greatly in variety and magnitude from urban they are discussed separately in this paper. There has been a marked decrease in certain sections of the country in the populations of Catholic child caring institutions, due mainly to changes in social and industrial conditions and the increased resources for the care of children in their own or foster homes.

The number of child caring homes in the urban dioceses are 14, 19, 15, and 11, respectively, a total of 59. In the rural dioceses three have 1 each and one has 2. The total number of children now under their care is approximately 14,000 in the first four groups and 500 in the latter four. Ten years ago there were more than 20,000 children cared for in 58 child caring institutions in the urban dioceses; today there are less than 14,000 in 59 institutions. In the rural dioceses there has been no change in the total number (5) of child caring institutions, though one diocese which had 2 in 1919 now has 1, and another which did not have any that year now has 1. The drop in the number of children cared for in 5 institutions in these dioceses was more marked than that in the urban dioceses. In 1919 a little less than 1,000 children were in these institutions; in 1929 a little more than 500 (975–554).

The change both in number of institutions and in number of children cared for is more marked in the archdiocese of New York than elsewhere. In 1915 there were 19 institutions caring for 12,000 dependent and neglected Catholic children and, in 1929, 14 homes with 6,500 children. Four homes had been closed and one had become a boarding school. A cursory examination of a few of the problems about which these dioceses and institutions were concerned will illustrate something of their variety.

Studies relating to four child caring institutions in three dioceses have been made since March 1, 1926. One of these was of a diocesan institution caring for children from infancy to sixteen years of age. On the same grounds were a group of small cottages, housing only two individuals each, for old men and women. The diocese itself was young and the institution was five years old. The location of the two groups on the same grounds was due to some extent to economic pressure, but also to a lack of insight into the difficulties of caring for babies, children, and old people in what was practically one institution. Since this study was made the development of a community wide child welfare program has been undertaken and will undoubtedly be of assistance to the diocese. There were at the time of our study no facilities for a social investigation of applications for admission or discharge. The records in the institution were meager even in the case of children sent by public and private social agencies. They revealed, however, that unreasonable and unintelligent demands were being made upon it.

Another southern diocese has two child caring institutions located at the extreme ends of its eastern and western boundaries. One had been founded shortly after the Civil War during a yellow fever epidemic. It had always been regarded as a community enterprise and cared for non-Catholic as well as Catholic children. The institution was not making use of the community facilities available for investigation of applications for admission and discharge and had established none of its own. This was due for the most part to the fact that a community wide service for children had not sufficiently considered the point of view of the institutions for children in the city. A plan was agreed upon with the Council of Social Agencies and the institution whereby the latter was to employ a case worker. This was done, but all difficulties have not to date disappeared. The reasons are not important in this discussion. They are referred to because a situation, in which an old institution which has for many years regarded itself as an agency doing important work for the community at genuine sacrifice suddenly finds itself an object of distrust by its old friends is not unique. It frequently happens in our high speed efforts at community organization. When dissatisfaction and misunderstanding have been growing between agencies for three or four years, such attitudes cannot immediately be changed by the employment of one trained worker. It would seem from this experience that more emphasis should be placed on creating an appreciation on the part of board members of standards of work and interrelationships between agencies and less on the professional services of one worker.

Two studies of institutions were made for the archdiocese of New York. In both an effort was made to understand more clearly the personal problems of the individuals now seeking their services. Case studies of selected groups were made. The equipment, training program, and social policies in relation to other community agencies were examined to determine their effect on the children and adults under care.

The service to institutions and their directors of such data as movement of populations may be illustrated by the study of the New York Foundling Hospital. The records of admissions and discharges for the years 1911, 1917, and 1926 reveal how completely social changes beyond the institutional walls had in sixteen years influenced the type and number of persons seeking its shelter. The institution was founded in 1868 primarily to care for unmarried mothers and their babies, and for many years these groups were in the majority in the numbers admitted. Our data for 1911 are estimates, due to incomplete records in those days, but those for 1917 and 1926 are presumed to be accurate.

The percentage of illegitimate children in relation to the total number of children admitted was 73.4 per cent in 1911; 68.1 per cent in 1917, and 60.1 per cent in 1926, a drop of thirteen points in sixteen years. In 1911, in excess of 76 per cent of all admissions were illegitimate children under one year of age; in 1926, 66 per cent of the children admitted were legitimate children over one year of age. The monthly average of unmarried mothers admitted in 1911 was 44.58 and in 1926 it was 7.33. These cataclysmic changes were due to no effort or desire on the part of the institutional authorities to change their intake policies. It is certain that the institution is now asked to care for groups whose needs are very different from those seeking its shelter sixteen years ago. The main changes in policy which the study indicated were the organization of a case work service for unmarried mothers, the cessation of placement in foster homes in far away areas (this had practically ceased three years before our study), the return of children unsatisfactorily placed to the institution for more complete social histories and redecision about placement, the reorganization of the staff of the boarding out department and the enlargement of this department, and changes in equipment to assist the carrying out of these policies, and the additional one of gradually undertaking a program of intensive care for children under school age.

Similarly, it was found in the study of the New York Catholic Protectory that the number of admissions had fallen off at the rate of about one hundred each year for the last ten years; that marked changes in nationality of children sent there had occurred, and that the average weekly population had dropped from 2,623 in 1918 to 1,644 in 1928. Educational and mental tests were given to 856 boys in the city house and 175 at the farm school. Between 19 per cent and 24 per cent in the city house and between 14 per cent and 15 per cent in the country have an intelligence quotient below 71. Only 22.8 per cent of the institutional population rated from 91 to 110, and 3.2 per cent above that. The intensive case studies of 157 boys to whom also educational and mental tests were given showed serious mental retardation and psychopathic conditions in many that made adjustment to the institutional régime impossible.

The Protectory in the past had had no resources for making its own investigations of admissions. It has accepted unquestioningly children sent by courts and social agencies. That better correlation between it and these agencies is needed is indicated by the fact that in the total group of 157 boys for whom case histories were made, 115, or 73 per cent had been in the children's court from two to five times previous to their present commitment. Fifteen boys had appeared there from six to eight times and one feebleminded boy had been in nine times.

The future program of this institution includes a plan for a case work service, which shall begin at the time of commitment and continue for at least three years after discharge, for a reorganization of the educational and vocational program adapted to the mentlity of the boys present, the organization of a psychiatric clinic, raising the age of admission to eleven years, and whenever possible to twelve years, and not accepting boys over sixteen, the transfer of children who after careful social and psychiatric examination are found to have an I.Q. below that which can be accepted by the Protectory for training (probably about 65), the construction of small cottages caring for from 15 to 25 boys—a sifted population for whom this type of care is deemed necessary—the further extension of the case work program to reach truant and wayward boys before they are committed to the Protectory or are brought into court, and the concentrating of its resources on a program for delinquent boys.

The story of these two institutions is not paralleled by any others which we have studied, but their problems of adjustment are after all not far afield except in size from those of many others.

In substance these studies aimed to get at problems of social organization which are in essence diocesan—the care of Catholic children outside of their own family group, service or relief or both to families, the treatment of the dependent sick, the dependent aged, and the training of adolescents and young people of both sexes who are beyond the control of parents and school. A program for a diocesan organization to deal with problems of family welfare, child welfare, health, protective care, and preventive work with young people was recommended for each of the dioceses studied, but the specifications and plans for each organization varied greatly.

Seven dioceses for which studies were made have now established a diocesan Catholic charities under the direction of a priest assisted by a staff of one or more lay members who have had social work training. There are eleven priests directing the diocesan organization or one of its departments in six dioceses. In one the position of director is vacant. All but one of these priests have had special training in the Catholic University of America or in a school of social work or both. The lay staff of trained social workers in three diocesan Catholic charities numbers more than 150, the four rural dioceses having a total of 6.

The existing community social resources under non-Catholic auspices have affected the scope and extent of diocesan organizations, the latter assuming responsibility first for unmet needs. Two dioceses have organized departments of family welfare. All have organized a case work service to care for children. Only one has organized a hospital division. One rural diocese combined its two institutions into one. It built a cottage plan institution where boys and girls are cared for in the same house. When our study was made of Des Moines it had only two diocesan institutions and these were hospitals. Adequate facilities for the care of dependent children did not exist under any auspices. It was recommended that a small home for the temporary care of such children under school age be established. This was done and about twenty children can now be accommodated.

After the survey of the Diocese of Newark, there was established in 1926 a diocesan agency called "Catholic Charities." During the first three years of its existence this agency concentrated its efforts on a case work service for children and unmarried mothers. All admissions to and discharges from the seventeen child caring institutions were made through Catholic Charities.

Our findings and conclusions indicate intensified diocesan consciousness about their social problems and the organization of their charities. In the larger dioceses where many institutions and agencies were in existence long before the surveys were made, there is noticeable a wider information and appreciation of the work of each, more general participation in conferences both under Catholic and non-sectarian auspices, better standards of work.

There is a marked tendency toward correlation of diocesan charities, not toward centralization in the matter of control; toward integration and adoption of uniform standards by individuals within the group, not toward unification with control by a central authority or standardization imposed from above. These trends are in line with the well-known history of Catholic development throughout the world, centralized direction with a wide degree of autonomous action by organizations and groups, and this is also recognized as good community social planning.

The problem of social organization in the rural diocese is more difficult for the church probably than for the general community in the same areas. There are very few Catholic social workers available for work in rural dioceses. The clergy are fewer in number, likewise. Greater reliance must of necessity be placed upon the laity, and among them at present there is only potential leadership in social work. In the diocese of Davenport a plan is under way to utilize the services more extensively than has been tried elsewhere of the National Council of Catholic Women as a promotional group for the diocesan charities. It includes a plan of education for the members through study groups under trained leadership.

Emphasis has been placed in this paper on the diocesan care of children not only because it appears in the children's division, but also because the dioceses have put forth their major efforts for children and more progress on the whole is measurable in this field than in any other.

The trends seem to be in the children's field toward the gradual decrease of institutional care for dependent children and the readjustment of institutions to care for special classes, toward the increase in the number of children cared for in their own or foster homes, the development of a case work service for each institution either through the diocesan agency or as part of the institutional program itself. To the extent to which these have been achieved by diocesan organization, this closer weaving of interests is obtained by education and not pressure. Several dioceses have monthly meetings of the heads of institutions for the discussion of their common problems. One diocese publishes a bulletin which is sent to every sister who teaches or cares for children in all of its institutions. It has also organized a traveling mental clinic for the institutions and a series of lectures for the sisters on child training.

You will have concluded that there are many ways in which these studies could be made more helpful to the dioceses. May I anticipate some of your thoughts and state briefly a few obvious conclusions about methods? For the dioceses which have not yet created a central service agency rather simple studies of major problems are useful. Information about local social organizations, both public and private, who care for all racial and religious groups is important. Emphasis on the refinement of technique of social case work and community organization may be delayed until the diocesan groups are more informed about social problems and their relation to their own program. Experience seems to indicate in our field as it has in others that the education of a local group to carry out policies is primarily important. Not enough pressure in these studies has been put on the necessity for the prevention of social evils through social organization and industry. The Catholic principles of justice are the foundation on which is built the organization whose motive is charity to all. The interesting of local groups, however, in specific problems seems to be a practical way of awakening their social consciousness and enlisting their participation in the program of social justice.

PARENTAL VALUES

* * *

ESTABLISHING FOSTER PARENTAL RELATIONSHIPS

Edith M. H. Baylor, Children's Aid Association, Boston

THAT the home is not what it used to be everyone will agree, but whether it is better or worse is a matter for discussion. Has the old time home in which the family gathered around the library table in the evening become a thing of the past? Do parents and children no longer feel a strong bond of understanding? Or, on the other hand, is modern youth in its frankness and freedom creating for the home new ideals that will make it a place in which character, originality, honesty may develop? Are the parents who have been flexible enough to adapt themselves to the new order enjoying with their children a richness of relationship unknown in the past?

We have ample historical evidence to prove that one generation after another has believed a period of calamity to be imminent owing to the recklessness of youth. Every period is one of transition, but there is reason to think that since the invention of the automobile things have moved rather swiftly with our young people. Many of us are in danger of having that humiliating term "old fashioned" applied to us.

The question that I am eager to have answered is this: Do we accept a new order in homes that come within the circle of our own private life, endeavoring to adapt ourselves to the situation, while at the same time we demand the old time standards in foster homes? I believe that child placing agencies in general have not been sufficiently ready to readjust their theories in regard to foster homes. We have actually a double standard.

There comes to mind the heated discussion, now past, I hope, concerning silk stockings for our older girls.

Psychiatry has taught us the deep significance of the feeling of inferiority which will surely exist if a child is placed in a home which is conducted in a manner different from those about it. The good home finder has always studied the neighborhood and community conditions surrounding foster homes. Now there will be an additional subject for consideration. It may be possible, of course, that all homes, including foster homes, have changed and that the social workers alone are clinging to the old ideas.

In our own homes with our own children we take chances, feeling fairly secure in the knowledge that we are on the spot to supervise and pick up the pieces, but with other people's children we feel a responsibility that does not permit us to take risks. The tendency is to formulate a chimerical standard of conduct which is no more workable in a foster home than in our own. Certainly we must adhere to principles, but may not the emphasis be shifted from goings and comings to relationships?

It has been said that "the future of the family relationship depends upon the wisdom and balance of the parents."[1] So also depends the welfare of our placed-out children upon the wisdom and balance of the foster parents. I use the term to describe any people caring, in their home, for children not their own nor those of relatives, whether they have taken the children for adoption, for board, with the idea of giving them a free home, or with the purpose of paying them wages.

If we agree that the foster homes should not remain static but should be part of an evolving process, we must look to the workers going into the homes to help in the interpretation of the new ideas and the modification of the old.

It is impossible to discuss in the same terms the relationships in homes of the various types that I have mentioned. The adoption home is chosen with the expectation that it will become a complete substitute for the child's own home. The child belongs to the adopting parents in every sense of the word. He takes their name and inherits their property. The relationship should be comparable to that existing when a child is born into a family. Yet even in this group that should be thoroughly integrated there may come a crash if the child learns of his adoption suddenly through some outside source. That a disaster of this kind must be avoided by complete frankness between foster parents and child we all recognize. The task of the social worker comes before the adoption takes place; afterward she may withdraw. It is during the inquiry into the desirability of the home, at the time when the careful fitting in is accomplished, and while the probationary period is in process, that the worker may make use of her skills. The future happiness of this group of individuals rests upon the attitude of each member toward all the others, and the quality of the interrelationship depends to some extent upon the ideals imparted in the beginning by the worker who planned the adoption. She will need to be secure in her own philosophy to be able to pass it on. When a young child is to be placed in a free home, where he will remain permanently, a similar situation exists.

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[1] Harriet M. Johnson, *Children in the Nursery School*, p. 94.

In the home where an older boy or girl is giving service or receiving wages, a slightly different relationship will be found, ideally, one in which affection, respect, and loyalty are predominant.

In the boarding home a far more complicated situation exists because in most instances the relationship between the child and his own parents as well as that between the child and his foster parents must be considered. In the past this difficulty has been met by many agencies in summary fashion, that is, by eliminating the parents from the picture. Ample evidence attests the unwisdom of this proceeding. Agencies have been unnecessarily burdened with the prolonged support of children who might well have been returned to their parents, and in many instances, in which children have been taken back into their own homes, a complete misunderstanding between parents and children has followed with consequent disaster. To my mind, the worker is challenged with no greater task than this delicate adjustment of relationships, where the ties to the foster parents must be superimposed upon the natural ties, which should be supplemented but not supplanted.

The tremendous usefulness and value of the boarding home have not been recognized universally, and it is too often thought of as a temporary stop gap in times of stress and emergency. Prentice Murphy says,

> Because of the quality of the work done by the best child placing agencies, some families of the higher type now apply for the care of children. Stress on quality of service is the best means of removing the stigma which is sometimes attached to the boarding home. Service performed for pay inevitably carries a sense of responsibility which is often lacking in volunteer service. We must remember, after all, that it is through the services of the foster parents themselves that child placing has come to be recognized as a highly effective form of treatment, founded on the essential unit of social organization—the family.[2]

It is to the boarding home that we must look for help with children who are suffering from physical handicaps or because of personality or behavior difficulties. Frequently the boarding home is as permanent as the free home, and the foster parents are called upon to give a depth of understanding of which the child's own parents have been incapable. Many foster parents from rich experience in living and in bringing up their own children are well equipped to assume the added care of these foster children. From such parents the worker may learn much, and it is worth while for her to enter the home with an open mind and to become a "creative listener." But the wisest foster parents do not know the child who is being brought to them nor what influences have produced in him certain thought and habit patterns. The worker is the only one who sees the whole picture, and it is she who must plan and interpret, leaving the actual building to the foster parents, the schools, the church, and the community.

While keeping in mind fundamental principles the worker will find that each individual situation demands special guidance, for there will be infinite variety in personality combinations. The most important consideration is the strengthening of the tie between the child and the foster parents rather than between the child and herself. Inevitably the child will look to her for help as she is the liaison officer, as well as the one who stands by if a replacement becomes necessary, but her friendship should be of particularly fine quality. This is equally true of her friendship with the foster parents. They must feel trust and a desire to accept the help and advice that the worker has to give. It all comes back to a consideration of the network of relationships.

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[2] *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth,* Judge Baker Foundation Publication No. 5, p. 11.

In some homes even the unattractive child seems to "belong" from the start. The foster parents are intrinsically parents, radiating warmth and affection. This is no doubt due in part to the quality of their relation to each other and to the members of their own family. It may be asked why home finders do not search for people of this type and refuse all others. The answer is that there are not enough ideal and available ready-made homes in existence. The home finder should be able to select, first, the homes that appear ideal and, second, the ones that possess good qualities that may be molded to fit the especial need. She should be an extraordinarily discriminating person, you think, and this is indeed true, although the child placing agencies as a whole are just beginning to arrive at this point of view. In the past young and inexperienced people have too often been assigned to this delicate piece of work.

Let us suppose that a child has been placed in the home of good people of average intelligence, kindly and interested but possessing little knowledge of the methods of child training that we believe are important. How shall we proceed?

Group meetings for foster parents may be held and information given in child psychology, dietetics, hygiene, etc. If the foster parents come from widely separated places, and care for children of different types for whom varying amounts of board are paid, difficulties are sure to follow. Helpful and stimulating meetings may, however, be held when the group is a homogeneous one, as, for instance, foster mothers caring for infants, foster parents of older boys, etc. The Simmons College School of Social Work conducted for several years with some success, a course for a group of carefully selected foster mothers.

Many agencies issue publications which they send into foster homes. The articles intended for the enlightenment of the parents are no doubt helpful and a firmer tie with the agency is established, as the foster parents are led to feel that they are members of the staff of the agency. There is, however, an element of danger because the child placed in the home will see the publication, very likely reading it with interest and becoming increasingly conscious of the fact that he is the object of all this consideration by a charitable institution, in other words that he is a "case." This point of view may give rise to emotional conflicts. I believe that some magazines sent from the agency regularly are of much value, but I think that the title and contents should be carefully considered. Wisely selected books may be sent into the homes, but usually their value depends largely upon their interpretation by the worker who knows what particular points to stress in each instance.

And so we come back again to the worker who should know the needs and supply them. But how, you ask.

Are workers with heavy case loads able to do all the necessary reading, and are they not often too rushed and tired to be sensitive to individual needs? The obvious reply is that the agencies should look for quality in work rather than for "production." And should they not also consider the constant need of the workers for intellectual refreshment, by giving them opportunity for special study and by making accessible the best books? A busy worker has no time to spend in public libraries where the books desired are usually "out." Certainly, she has little surplus from her salary to be used in the purchase of books, now so high in price.

We have considered the foster home in relation to the changing values of the times and our part in not expecting more rigid standards of living from foster parents than we and our friends are willing to live up to, suggesting that much discrimination be used in determining what are essentials.

We have thought of the differences in relationship in foster homes of various types; we have spoken of possible methods of helping foster parents to accomplish the difficult tasks that we have set them, and we have come to the conclusion that it is through the worker that ideals in foster homes may be reached most surely.

With all these considerations in mind we are led inevitably to recognize the importance of making sure that those to whom we look for favorable results in this complicated process should have had sound academic training and a body of experience.

DEVELOPING PARENTAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AN INSTITUTION

Samuel Langer, Superintendent, Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum, San Francisco

THERE is nothing standardized about parental relationships. There is no unique all-embracing ideal. Not all "good" parents are alike. Beware of judging by a ready-made or a hard and fast notion of what a good parent is and does. Being a spectator or a student or a critic is very different from being a parent, or from giving actual, not purchased or vicarious, service to children. Anyway, an ideal is more likely to be a frozen moment, a statue showing a motionless instant of maximum strain, than to be a working model. Do not appear to demand perfect knowledge, understanding, wisdom, and patience from either a real parent or a foster parent, for you know it is not to be expected. Expressions of disappointment, exasperation, mockery, or contempt may be overcompensations for self-recognized or self-suspected inadequacy, or they may be evidence that we have not learned since our youth, or that we have not changed with the times, or that we are superficial faddists instead of wise students.

On the other hand, it behooves all parents, be they the genuine biological article or the factitious product of modern social work, to know the basic principles of their vocation and to be self-critical on methods and habits far more than on such present appearances as are usually called "results." It is true that an overwhelming majority of parents have their spiritual functions crushed by the weight of material burdens. It is only a numerically insignificant minority who command economic means or physical vigor enough to have time and strength for adequate spiritual service to the children. In this regard the institutional worker may have something of an advantage. The household is much larger, but much time and energy consuming work, as in planning, marketing, and washing, has been taken away. The great trouble, however, really is that supplying these material factors is considered to constitute the real job of being a parent. The drive to get the work done, and done on time at that, makes one careless of means used to arrive at results. There is danger in the company manners assumed by parents and children alike. If you have nagged or scolded or shoved or cuffed your way to a certain result and then collect approbation and register satisfaction without regard to the scourged feelings of your children, you may think you are teaching something good—cooking or darning or house-cleaning or punctuality or neatness—but you are really sowing bitterness and antagonism and distrust and hypocrisy. How you do a thing is even more important than what you do; the motive on which a child acts is far more important than the efficiency of his performance.

Not all "good" institutions are alike. Most of them are educational projects. A few are home making projects. Some are frankly temporary shelters for convenience during case study, waiting rooms preparatory to allocation elsewhere. Many operate under a system of control which denies to the institution managers any effective voice on the kind of child to be admitted or on the length of stay. When selective authority and permanence of association are taken away, the parental relationship is crippled, if not killed. Nor can a parental relationship well be built on predominantly intellectual or vocational, instead of on emotional, foundations.

There are many complicating factors injected into the lives of children who have been removed from their natural homes. Most of the children in either foster homes or institutions have a surviving parent or parents. In a great many cases mutual loyalty and understanding should be preserved, or else built up if it does not already exist. Yet the maintenance of this relationship to blood kin frequently involves serious conflict between the standards of living and of conduct and the notions of good citizenship which are held by the present guardians and those held by these relatives. Children inevitably suffer when torn between conflicting loyalties. The basis of a parental relationship is responsibility which is personal, forward looking, undeniable, and permanent. Entirely characteristic is the quality of being individual. It is hard to establish a parental relationship where the child is actually, or regards himself as being, merely a constituent of a group which is valued as a group, regardless of intake and outgo; still harder when a biological parent remains, from whom the child came and to whom it is openly planned soon to return him.

Then, what can an institution do to develop a parental relationship for each child?

It will be helpful to study the situation from a somewhat different angle. The parental relationship is a manifold one, with biological, physical, psychological, and several kinds of educational phases. The biological and physical phases we need not dwell on now. The psychological and educational phases, or, in other words, the spiritual rather than the material phases, concern us in this discussion.

The traditional parental and filial love is the emotion which binds and sweetens home ties. However, besides this, what are the non-material functions of parenthood? The parent is the one who interprets life to the children. Day by day he gathers the events of the day and rationalizes its happenings. He unifies all the experiences his children have had and elucidates them. Thus he gives his children a sense of proportion, a knowledge of relationships and of relative values. He builds up habits and attitudes by judicious praise and equally judicious correction. He forgives to seventy times seven, despite the fact that he will not condone wrong because of love, but will teach that wrong is wrong whether punished or not. Retribution and correction are thus dissociated, and righteousness becomes identified with doing right and not with escaping discovery—with character instead of with reputation.

Parental relationship involves a provider as well as a home maker and the relationship between these two as well as between each of them and the children. It cannot be subdivided or partially delegated, one person wielding the influence while others do the detail work. No matter how much you know of your children from nurses, teachers, physicians, psychologists, or friends, you are not really mothering or fathering them unless, through personal contact, both you and they feel that it is you who unify and interpret all experience. It differs from controlling the work-study-play program by which the children live as fathering or mothering a family differs from being housekeeper in a home. This is the very heart of the matter. It presents a function which not only is the essential one of the parental relationship but also is one which can be introduced in any foster home or in any institution.

It being impossible to deal with each kind of institution in turn in this paper, attention will be confined to one particular place which was reorganized, eight years ago, and intended to be a home making project, one specially planned as a container for the ideas which have sought expression in the foregoing.

Admissions are limited to children of the same religious faith, of whom it is judged that their presence will not be dangerous or disgusting to others in prolonged close association. The group unit is composed of boys and girls, theoretically ten of each, of all ages, so that each house has its babies, intermediates, helpers, and leaders, and probably one or two "problem" children. Provision has been made for individual possessions and self-expression as well as for group experience and cooperation. This has been definitely planned for in each cottage and in the plan *d'ensemble*, in both physical equipment and in social life. The cottage families are stable groups. There has been very little shifting of children from group to group and none at all of housemothers from one cottage to another. Transient cases are not knowingly admitted. Even greater care is taken to avoid transients in staff appointments.

Each cottage is a fully equipped, independent household in which nothing but the usual home services are installed. All institutional and official services are located in service buildings. Each cottage is presided over by one housemother, the acknowledged head of the family. The children do all the work under her guidance, for the idea is to parallel conditions in a family of small means but high standards. They are not paid in money or in tokens or in credits for home duties, but do what is to be done as part of their participation in home life. The older children are permitted to buy much of their clothing at retail, for cash, both to give them experience as consumers and to promote mutual good will with their housemothers through shopping expeditions. A similar scheme is used in food purchases, for the storeroom is closed periodically and each house receives enough money to buy everything at retail for about a week. The children do their lessons at home. The housemother signs their report cards. It is her name, address, and telephone number which are recorded in school. She takes her family with her to public worship and leads them also in family devotions. Her children grow up with her through the successive stages of being served, of giving help and of assuming responsibility, to such companionship as should subsist between a mother and her matured children.

The superintendent, of course, assumes the rôle of wage-earner, to whom the accounting system, showing both usage and costs in each cottage, is very helpful. He also follows each child's record at home and in school and is no stranger in the dining-room, living-room, or study of any cottage. He discusses each high school or college course of study with the child. He is principal of the religious school and leader in the chapel services. Besides his individual conferences with the staff members, he presides at the general staff meetings where principles, policies, and methods are discussed as well as experiences of all kinds exchanged.

In this way an attempt has been made to establish a household where the permanence of ordinary family associations may be approximated both among the children and between them and a mature, responsible, affectionate guide, whose family leadership is quite naturally assumed and exercised, while yet she is supported and counseled and instructed as other home makers are supported and counseled by wage-earners, and counseled and instructed in parent-teacher and other groups and by chosen instructors.

CAN PARENTAL EDUCATION BE APPLIED?

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THE bases for distrust or doubt concerning the practicability of education for parenthood would seem to be, first, that we are aware of the wide extent of parental ignorance and neglect; second, that the effect of dealing with crises tends to cause us to turn to quicker remedies than education provides; third, that child bearing and rearing often are not the major concern of parents; fourth, that specialized workers suffer certain limitations in meeting varied needs of parents; fifth, that traditional education has neglected the "education of the emotions"; sixth, that parents often are confused by lack of agreement among specialists concerning the same case; seventh, that there is little clarity about what parental education should be. With this array of liabilities, what assets are there for the consideration of one who asks, Can parental education be applied?

The profound and continuous influence of parents upon children makes parents primarily responsible for the kind of adult a child becomes. If a parent delegates the "care of the child to the servants, to day nursery matrons, to nursery school specialists, to kindergarten teachers, for all or any part of the day, the responsibility still rests on the shoulders of the parents who do the delegating."[1] The findings of students of human behavior and the records of various kinds of agencies all lend support to the appreciation of the importance of the early years of childhood. If social and emotional attitudes are practically established during the first five or six years of an individual's life, parents are the most important educators on earth. Whether the education of a parent is good or bad, it is applied. Parents have in the nature of things the first requisite for economical and effective learning, for example, a project, involving numbers of problems. Sometimes the problems are acute and painful; always they are complex. The extent to which adults are sensitive to problems before they become acute or painful is one measure of the effectiveness of parental education, no matter how that education is acquired. There are parents too dull, too much concerned with themselves, too much engrossed with admiration of their offspring, to be aware of the problems of adequate social and emotional development of children. But most parents are conscious of difficulties and so have the basis of a beginning of real education.

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[1] National Society for the Study of Education, *Twenty-eighth Year Book*, p. 49.

There is an increasing body of reliable subject matter for the use of parents. Parental enlightenment is going on through the press, the schools, the churches, clubs, parent-teacher associations, and other agencies. There is an arresting array of reliable agencies equipped to supply individuals and groups with printed materials bearing upon problems of child care, outlines for organized study, lists of books of dependable character, slides and moving pictures, guidance in the organizing of study groups, all cooperating with other agencies to bring about better understanding of the problems of living. The American Association of University Women, Child Study Association of America, American Home Economics Association, Bureau of Education, Bureau of Public Health, American Child Health Association, United States Children's Bureau, National Child Welfare Association, National Committee on Nursery Schools, National Council of Parental Education, Progressive Education Association, National Education Association, World Federation of Educational Associations, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and doubtless other organizations accept parental education as one of their chief concerns.

Child welfare institutes in several of our large universities are developing a body of subject matter drawn from the various fields that have to do with improvement of human living conditions and with better understanding. Materials bearing upon the nature of physical and mental growth, language development, habit formation, emotional growth, and social relationships are being increased and improved. Materials based upon technical and scientific studies are being written in a fashion that makes them readable and usable by parents who have had little school experience. The time was when scientific workers were content to conduct their researches and record their findings in form so technical that only one trained in the same way could understand them. There is a growing social conscience that forces scientific workers to put their findings in a form that is socially useful. The literary style of which a reader recently said that she could understand most of the words, but very few of the sentences, is not held in high esteem. There is increasing demand that findings shall be expressed in an understandable way.

There is much the same promise in the use of scientific method in dealing with problems of human relationships as this method has given when applied to control of material environment. Scientific method has been acquired for use in other activities, and there is reason to expect that it can be acquired for use in dealing with problems of human relationships. The scientific method is at the same time the most common sense method of procedure. If a generation of parents were equipped with this method it would guarantee much that is now lacking in parental knowledge and skill. The characteristics of the scientific method are so well developed in Dewey's *How We Think* and other subsequent publications that it would be an imposition to repeat the discussion here. It is for us only to emphasize the practicability of acquiring a method of procedure when dealing with problems of child adjustment that is immensely more promising than the trial and error method which is so widely used.

Finally, there are skills which are peculiarly valuable to parents, and which are being acquired by numbers of parents through their own study and efforts.

First comes self-direction and self-control when dealing with children. There is a growing body of evidence that even very temperamental adults may acquire this skill once they see the importance of it to the well-being of their loved children. Numbers of parents are learning daily the extent to which self-direction and self-control are as communicable in the family circle on the positive side as disease and disorder are on the negative side.

> If it is true that an unfortunate event or terror in childhood can make so deep an impression as later to undermine the mental health, surely it is not making too extravagant a claim to suggest that an exquisite or humorous or gracious moment may serve later as a powerful force for sanity.[2]

Second, skill in facing facts about the self, which affect the kind of adjustment made by children, is another way in which improvement may come about through organized study and effort. Most human beings resent being told of their peculiarities. They have to hear them recounted during childhood by parents and teachers, but when they have reached adult estate they do not permit anyone to give too close attention to their frailties. If the husband attempts to tell his wife of her trying voice, or of her exacting demands, or of her unreasonable procedures, or of her tendency to get too tired or to undertake to do too much, or to interfere unduly, he is reminded that if he loved her now as he did before marriage he could not see imperfections in her now any more than he did then. It is doubtful if any successful wife tells her husband all the things she thinks he really should know about himself. It is an accepted principle of good business that from time to time inventory shall be taken, gains and losses faced appropriately, and adjustment made in the light of the revelations of the findings. If the business of living in groups is to realize fully upon its possibilities for human happiness some means of developing a technique of stock taking must be found. Indeed, if we are to be protected against the devastating reaches of subconscious processes, skill in facing facts about ourselves and in dealing with them adequately must become a part of our working equipment, whether parents or not. Parental skill in this respect, however, is particularly important because of its profound influence upon growing children.

Third, maintaining balance, in family organization and control, calls for skill in making continuous adaptation in the relationships between the several members of the family group, continuous change in the emphasis upon individual interests, and adaptation to the growth of each child in the group. This requires a skill which few parents have acquired, but toward which many parents are at the moment making great strides through the understanding of the problem they have secured by their own study.

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[2] Warner, *Groups and Couples*, p. 275.

Fourth, skill in observation of child activities and interests is proving to be within the range of parental achievement and is revealing much as to "what manner of child this is" to parents who have been accustomed to assuming that all children of any given age are exactly alike and should be treated in the same way. It is easy to see the difference between the typical parental attitude of watching a child and the more difficult but more profitable procedure of observation. Observation leads easily to the important procedure of making a record of observations.

Fifth, parents are the only individuals who are in a position to maintain a helpful relationship between various agencies or institutions that affect the life of children. School-home relationships are largely determined by the parents, as are those between the home and the church, the playground, and the courts.

Sixth, for their own protection, parents need skill in the selection of materials. In these days when the interest in parental study is so active many persons are attracted to the field and find opportunity to publish and to speak without much preparation other than the gift to talk or write in a way that attracts attention. There is an immense amount of printed material available which is not of any particular value for educational purposes if we look upon parental education as a process of emancipation of the parental mind from devotion to customary processes and of making them able to pursue new ends, or as a process of gaining intellectual self-possession within the limits of their ability, or as a process of gaining an insight into the meaning of experience.

Parental education up to the present time has devised no unique methods of procedure in the conduct of its teaching. A large variety of techniques such as are ordinarily employed in college courses and in non-academic discussion groups have been adapted to this particular branch of adult education. The dynamic quality of the material and the immediate and active interest on the part of parents render discussion in parental education work far more live than the rather passive material in many academic courses. There has been some experimentation and in consequence some reorganization and evaluation of the adapted methods, but there is very little, if any, definite knowledge concerning the values to be derived from the use of specific methods. One of the greatest dangers of the parental education movement which has resulted from its sudden and energetic stimulation has been the tendency to plunge ahead in a pathless field without a clear idea of the scope or limitations. The area of parental education is large. Progress will be hindered and valuable energy dissipated unless there is an effort to make more systematic, concentrated attacks upon its various problems. Parental education on the other hand should be wary of both standardization and specialization which tend to cramp its function or limit its outlook.

The emphasis on the child and his relation to the parent has for the time being somewhat set aside a consideration of the parent as a person. Because the "problem child" is a dramatic individual and the events of his life make up an exciting plot, he too often becomes the peg on which to hang the pet theories of the lay mind. A less spectacular consideration of childhood in its relation to family life and a shifting from the child as the center to the home and family would be a wholesome change in the present situation.

It is obvious that parental education cannot be taught in a single course or even in a group of courses. Essentially it is a movement with varied functions, concerned with the whole life of the individual and for the full extent of life, for the first lessons in parental responsibility are taught when the child first knows his parent, and continue as long as he is a member of a social group. Its scope should encircle the outer horizons of all the specialties that give it meaning and its content should be a constantly changing organization of the functional material which has its source in the integrated life of whole personalities.[3]

It is doubtful if any individual who has honestly attempted to become familiar with materials now available for the use of parents will ever again be a passive, habit-bound parent. Rather, the mother will realize that her freedom, in the most practical sense, depends upon a continued search for right and truth whether it makes one comfortable in established modes of thought and conduct or forces one to the continued effort necessary to changing habits.

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[3] *Twenty-eighth Year Book,* National Society for the Study of Education, pp. 803–4.

CASE WORK RESPONSIBILITY OF JUVENILE COURTS

Grace Abbott, Chief, United States Children's Bureau, Washington

THE juvenile court as an institution is thirty years old. Probation is older. We have now passed the stage of enthusiastic and even extravagant statements of what such courts will be able to accomplish and are subjecting them to a searching examination of what they are doing, or perhaps more accurately what they are not doing. This is undoubtedly a great disappointment to many. Changing from the discussion of the wisdom of a plan to actually making it work is always hard. The enthusiasm of very few remains for the hard, slow, uphill administrative work which never ends, since institutions that live must change to meet changing conditions. That enthusiasm, so useful in the legislative period, has, let us hope, been transferred to the next social reform which is in what might be called the propaganda stage while we are holding those who are really interested in the slow development of the possibilities of the court.

The subject assigned me implies that perhaps I am going to defend or deny the statement that the juvenile courts can be expected to do case work with children. This would raise the fundamental question as to whether we were or were not on the right track when we insisted that in so far as the courts deal with delinquent children their cases should be tried by specially organized tribunals, which would have as their objective, cure, not punishment. It seems to me unnecessary to support the soundness of the general conclusion which was reached thirty years ago. It would be like trying to argue whether the public school can really teach children. We have today a quite different conception of what case work for delinquent children should be than we had before any social case work had been done with delinquents, before any scientific study had been given to the subject of juvenile delinquency. There have been fundamental changes in recent years in our whole conception of education. The juvenile court must then be enabled to function so as to meet advancing standards of what constitutes case work for children who must be brought before the court, just as the schools must meet the new conception of the educational needs of children.

I should like to make my subject a consideration of the difficulties the juvenile court faces in maintaining a high standard of case work. But I want first to acknowledge our indebtedness to law and legal thinking in the development of social case work as we know it today. You will all recall, I am sure, how heavily Miss Richmond drew on legal conceptions in Part I of *Social Diagnosis*, which she called "Social Evidence." This indebtedness to law, like most indebtedness that is incurred, has not been an unmixed blessing. Legal conceptions may be a hindrance to us in developing a better understanding of social relationships. However, it is only one so young that he is without experience who is not put to the necessity of deciding whether to discard or to accept what he once believed to be truth. All scientists must make this choice not once but over and over again.

As social workers we have used the rules of legal evidence in establishing facts, and in common with the legal profession we are under the necessity of developing the capacity to analyze a problem with which we are confronted and utilize intelligently the services of experts in various and unrelated fields. Our task is at once more difficult and easier than the lawyer's. We must take into consideration more constantly than he social relationships rather than individual rights. On the other hand, without any hesitation we can direct our efforts to determining what is in the interest of the general welfare rather than the welfare of an individual client, and we are not bound to follow precedents as the lawyer and judge are, although here, too, we are not entirely free.

When the juvenile courts undertook the task of preventing delinquency what were some of the handicaps with which they began? They were, of course, part of a system of our legal organization which was founded on the idea that justice required treating everyone who had committed the same offense in the same way, and that punishment was the means of deterring or preventing crime. As one after another of the old types of punishment had been abandoned, the only punishments that remained were fine and imprisonment. Probation was giving the offender another chance before punishment was decided upon. The facts in the case were theoretically fully developed for the court by opposing counsel, and the judge decided wholly on the evidence before him. The safeguards with which the accused were surrounded were to prevent an innocent man from being punished.

Dean Pound has pointed out that the great problem of the law is that of maintaining a balance between the need of stability, with which our conception of justice is involved, and the need for adjustment to changing conditions. The juvenile court was handicapped, therefore, from the social work standpoint because it was a court bound by the traditions that have developed through the centuries. But this weakness is the reason why it must be made to function in accordance with our developing standards of what is in the interest of children. It is, in other words, a judicial agency and has the authority that only the courts possess.

Has any real progress been made by the juvenile court? Anyone of us could present evidence which would indicate that there had been very little if any progress in the last thirty years. For example, sentencing a child six years of age to fifteen years in a reformatory, which the papers tell us is a Kentucky judge's decision of what will promote the interests of society, is more harsh than the old common law. While we ought to keep steadily in mind the legal crimes which are still being committed against children, it would be as unfair to measure the progress that has been made only by these conspicuous failures as to consider in our judgment of a health program only those counties in which the educational work has been so well done that the death rate has been greatly reduced.

At the Interracial Conference which met in Washington this winter, it seemed to me that I had a sense of how far we had traveled. The old conception of justice is that the same kind of evidence shall always be admitted or excluded, as the case may be, in determining both action and intent, and that each offender shall receive exactly the same treatment for the same act with the same intent. It was, of course, generally agreed that measured by this standard the Negro did not get justice in most of our courts. These would not be tests by which we would measure whether Negro children were being fairly treated in our juvenile courts. In the juvenile courts children are all treated alike only when they are all treated differently. The question is not what should be done for particular types of offense but for individual children.

Negro children are being treated the same as white children if their cases are as carefully studied by social investigator and psychiatrist, as are those of other children, if a proportionate number of probation officers equally well trained are assigned to their supervision, and if equally good institutional or foster home care is available for those who must be removed from their own homes. Of course, measured by this standard of justice, it is probably not frequently available to the delinquent Negro child. My thesis is, however, the changed conception of what constitutes justice for children. This conception is very slowly influencing opinion as to what constitutes justice for adults, and we shall probably not have the new justice available for all children who are brought before the courts until the general public is prepared to believe that a more scientific treatment of the adult offender constitutes justice.

In our early thinking about the court we were helped by the conception of the state as a father in dealing with the children who had developed conduct problems. Statutes frequently provide that the juvenile court judge is to proceed as a "wise" father would in his decision as to what should be done. I suppose the "father" idea was emphasized because, however modest he might be about his knowledge of what the children should be fed or how they should be taught, the father usually thought he did know how to make them behave, and discipline, particularly that requiring on occasion a strong right arm, was reserved for him. This conception of a "wise father" is of little assistance to us now. Today we are saying that if punishment is to be administered it must not be delayed—its value is proportionate to its promptness. Moreover, the father's usefulness in child training—which we now know is much more important than it was sometimes held to be—is reduced by this specialization in punishment. The state acts as a "wise" father in providing adequate schools and playgrounds. When it comes to dealing with delinquency a different conception is needed. The "wise" father or mother does not know what to do with serious conduct problems. The most that we can expect is that by their joint intelligence and affectionate understanding they will be able to put into practice the general principles of child training which will help to prevent the development of conduct problems. When abnormal conditions develop the wise parent will secure the help of the specialist just as he calls in the doctor when the child has a fever.

The juvenile court is one of the community agencies that is responsible for the prevention of delinquency. It is only one. While it does not always reflect our present knowledge of what is the best social practice, the other agencies probably fail even more seriously when their opportunity for prevention is taken into account. The analogy of eliminating disease and promoting health in children seems to me a helpful one in this connection. The children's court, let us say, corresponds to the children's hospital. You will remember only a few years ago the intolerable situation that we faced every summer: thousands of babies sick and dying, hospitals overcrowded, temporary buildings and tents full, nurses and physicians fearfully overworked in an effort to keep babies from dying of diarrhea or some other disease that originated in improper feeding. Building wings to hospitals and increasing the medical and nursing staff was of little help—the babies still died by the thousands. In most communities this situation has been completely changed. Popular literature and clubs and classes, where the mother has learned the general principles of infant and child care, and the well-baby clinics and children's health conferences, where she has learned from the physician how these general principles must be modified to meet the needs of her own children, have almost completely eliminated this cause of death in many communities. We are teaching positive health in preschool centers and in schools, as well as attempting to make sure that for the smaller number who do become ill we are making available the most intelligent kind of care that medical science can provide. One of the greatest helps in our thinking has been the discovery that well children are usually not really well and their efficiency can be very greatly increased by more intelligent care in the home and in school.

I need not point out the analogy between the hospital and the juvenile court. We now know that delinquency in some form is practically universal among children. They do not instinctively know even that private property is private property. This and most of the other misunderstandings on which our living together is based must be slowly, and in my own case painfully, learned. If, then, in preventing delinquency our reliance is on the juvenile court alone or even primarily, we shall certainly continue to fail in preventing the kinds of delinquency that are easily preventable. The training of parents and of teachers and the provision of habit and child guidance clinics where parent and teacher can get the help they need from the specialist in conduct problems are absolutely fundamental. The children now are handed over to the court when the home and the school have failed to cure conduct difficulties. I should speak more accurately if I said after they have contributed to the development of conduct problems in children, because in the home and the school is so frequently found the cause of the child's delinquencies. In many of the children brought to the courts the disease of delinquency is so advanced that cure is impossible. Some of them, with our present knowledge of this field, could not have been cured if the specialist had been called much earlier but many of them, how many we do not know, are curable.

The court is the place where the services of specialists in diagnosis and resources for treatment should be found since it alone has the authority to remove children from home and school if such treatment is indicated by a careful study of the case. That it is not so equipped, I do not need to say.

The conception of a specialist in the conduct problems of children is a new one, and these specialists are the first to admit that their knowledge is still very limited. They have the beginnings of a science and a technique. The research of the last few years in methods of diagnosis and treatment have greatly increased our knowledge on this subject. The opportunities for clinical study that the so-called "habit clinics" and "child guidance clinics" and the psychiatric clinics attached to courts have made possible have been of enormous value. We shall know vastly more about human behavior and the relation of physical and social causes to conduct problems in the future than we do today. However, that is not a reason for not using in full the knowledge that we now have. On the contrary it makes its full utilization even more important.

It is not being fully utilized by our courts today. What is wrong? Most courts do not have the services of a psychiatrist or the number of psychiatrists necessary for a careful study of boys and girls who are brought to them as having manifested conduct problems too serious or too difficult for the home or the school or the children's agency to handle. Not more than ten or twelve juvenile courts in the country have their own psychiatric clinics. Many others utilize community child guidance or mental hygiene clinics, but these are usually able to accept only a limited number of juvenile court cases. In the District of Columbia two psychiatrists and two psychologists who are full-time members of the staffs of local hospitals each give a half-day a week of volunteer service to the juvenile court, which deals with more than 1,700 official juvenile delinquency cases yearly. The Children's Bureau has recently published a list prepared by the National

Committee for Mental Hygiene of psychiatric clinics for children in the United States. A glance at it shows that there are whole states in which such clinics are nowhere available. In those very states often there are no psychiatrists or psychologists specializing in the conduct problems of children. There are not in the United States today enough such psychiatrists or psychologists to serve the juvenile courts adequately if they all devoted themselves to this work exclusively. Most judges are therefore without the help of this type of specialists in conduct problems.

For the investigation that enables the judge to decide what treatment should be given the children and for supervision and help in the adjustment of the family, school, and community problems that contribute to their delinquency, he has frequently an untrained staff, whose members are appointed for political service or because they are widows or are for some other reason in need of a job; or if their appointment is the result of an honest desire to obtain the best officers available, the salaries paid are often inadequate to attract and hold well trained persons. Probation is often merely a stepping stone to a more remunerative occupation. The number of probation officers is wholly inadequate. But merely increasing the number of probation units will not solve the problem. The public must recognize that the treatment which the court is intended to give can be carried on only by men and women fitted by personality, education, and experience for the work, who are selected on the basis of merit only, and given systematic, well-planned direction by a chief probation officer or other supervisor.

For some judges the court is a political opportunity; some have such confidence in the power of their own personality to correct fundamental physical, social, and emotional problems that they think they can by a talk with a child and his parents solve all the problems that are presented. Such a judge thinks that all he needs is a few people to send on errands. As a matter of fact, this treatment is frequently adequate for many of the cases that come before courts dealing with children and young people, and it is these successes which are remembered. For example, Steve Lozinsky, aged seventeen, was arrested for stealing an automobile and placed on probation for six months. He made a good record while on probation and at the expiration of nearly two years had got into no further difficulty. Concerning his court experience he said:

> It was the best thing that ever happened to me. I wish it had happened a lot sooner. Just to go down once a month and go to all that trouble and explain all about what you were doing was enough to make any boy who has an average mind stop and think before he goes on and gets into more trouble. Probation did me more good than all the lecturing I had had given me all my life.

Clement Dunne, on the other hand, nineteen years of age, arrested for a similar offense and placed on probation for one year, considered his court experience the worst thing that could have happened to him. Although his home conditions were far from desirable and he was badly in need of vocational help, only routine methods of probation were used, and the probation officer evidently had no insight into the boy's problems. "I have never been able to look at anybody since then," Clement said. "They gave me a coarse, hard-boiled fellow for a probation officer, who wanted to keep me scared half to death." Continually nagged by his family and reminded of the disgrace of his court experience, he lost his job because of his arrest and then, drifting from one job to another, he finally attempted suicide.

Some judges use what are, for our present stage of development, pretty adequate resources for investigation and diagnosis merely as window dressing. Carefully prepared reports of social investigations and the recommendations of a psychiatrist are sometimes found in the records of the court but not utilized in treatment. On the other hand, there are judges who are intelligently utilizing all the resources for scientific work available to them and are taking the lead in developing additional facilities.

Finally, in the list of difficulties that the court faces—perhaps most discouraging of all—social workers are responsible or share the responsibility for adding to courts already inadequately equipped to handle children's cases, jurisdiction over a number of related problems, such as dependency, non-support, divorce, and offenses committed by adults against children. Socialized treatment of these cases is desirable, but in our plans for providing such treatment we often ignore the necessity of making sure that adequate standards of work for children will not be lowered by these increased responsibilities.

To return to the question, Can the courts do social case work? Perhaps I ought to say, Will they be allowed to? And to that question the only reply seems to be that they must be enabled to. We shall not take from the parents their right over the children without a judicial determination as to whether in fact the evidence presented by the experts justifies this course. Such a decision is treatment requiring the most careful investigation. Should the courts do the case work for all delinquent children? Obviously not. The home and the school can be made much more efficient in training the child than they now are, and the advice of experts should be available to parents and teachers before it is considered necessary to utilize the court. We shall have to make judges, as well as teachers, parents, and social workers, much more intelligent as to the prevention and treatment of conduct problems. We need to put into practice what is now known, while at the same time our field of knowledge should be continually expanded by research and clinical observation. With a scientific viewpoint about conduct problems and their prevention, we can hope to secure agencies that will educate parents in scientific methods of child training and assist them in dealing with the early conduct problems of children, to enable the school to prevent creating conduct problems, and to assist the home in meeting those that do develop, and to provide the court, the hospital to which serious cases of delinquency must eventually be brought, with the trained personnel and adequate resources for diagnosis and treatment.

THE CHILD ON PROBATION

Hans Weiss, Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Boston

WE SPEAK of probation as if it were a thing clearly understood by everyone, a method of treatment well defined, allowing but one interpretation. The contrary is the case. In theory, we find two widely different views represented by what might be called the old and the new school of probation.

Probably the best definition of the old school which sees in probation chiefly the element of supervision we find in a treatise published by the United States Children's Bureau:

> Probation, as it relates to children, may be defined as a system of treatment for the delinquent child . . . . by means of which the child . . . . remains in his ordinary environment and to a great extent at liberty, but, throughout a probation period, is subject to the watchful care and personal influence of the agent of the court known as the probation officer.

Youth in Conflict expresses the new school with the idea of social treatment as the sole object. According to its author:

> Probation means a plan of treatment carried out in the community which enlists combined forces of home, school, church, settlements, playgrounds and other available social organizations working under skilled leadership for a central, well diagnosed goal. At stages in treatment conferences should be held and results checked up. New guiding lines should be followed as conditions alter. But above all, no one should lose sight of the child. . . . He should be the one absorbing reality that would justify . . . . the weight of social machinery used in his behalf.

Viewing the practice of probation work we reach thoroughly shifting ground. There, probation may mean anything from neglecting to appear when the boys are waiting in line to have their probation card marked to the working out and carrying through of a constructive plan. Social treatment aims at the training of the child under conditions which render such training feasible. The child's cooperation is necessary for diagnosis as well as for treatment. To expect him to cope with a situation which proved too difficult for him is not only unfair but also unwise. Those whose responsibility it is to help him in his job of making good should work out adjustments which assure the child a fair chance. Thus, probation is to be viewed from two poles—the child being one and the court the other, both striving for the same goal of fitting the child for his opportunity and responsibility in the community.

From the child's point of view, the following stages are indispensable: First, he must learn to face his own difficulties, for only if he has some mental picture of the nature and extent of his maladjustments can we expect him to meet them. Second, he should understand that he has to make new efforts along several lines; he must be willing to face himself; he must be willing to tackle the difficult job of rehabilitating himself and to work for a place in his little world, be it the old or a new environment. He must be a good enough sport honestly to try to give new confidence in him to those who because of his previous misconduct are now looking upon him with suspicion. He must be willing to accept certain standards of behavior as goals worthy to be earnestly striven for, not because he is told to do so but because their value begins to mean something to him. In short, probation should mean that there are definite tasks for him, as, for instance, to be helpful at home, to change his attitude in the home concerning his habits, to raise his standards in school, to choose a better type of recreation, etc.—definite tasks for wholesome self-expression. In place of the merely negative job of "not getting into trouble any more" he should be shown such positive tasks. You cannot ask him to stare at empty space, and expect inspiration and progress. Third, he must have enough confidence in the court to accept the probation officers' leadership.

The child has no philosophy of probation. To expect such a thing seems ridiculous. But unless the probation officer sees these requirements for the boy clearly he will not be able to guide him. However vague a boy's idea of probation may be, he should at least catch the spirit of it and be brought to realize how much depends on his effort and good will to play the game.

The probation officer's conception of his own work should run parallel to those elements found to be essential for the child. They are the foundation on which he should build and expand his philosophy of probation.

The capacity for working out the child's point of view and the ability to understand him are unthinkable without a spontaneous and genuine interest in youth. Adults who approach this work with any other motive are unfit for it. They will find the gate to any child's world locked and no power on earth can win entrance for them. But he who approaches the problem with a sincere and sympathetic interest will develop a growing understanding of the processes which govern behavior, attitudes, and actions of certain personalities in a given environment. No one expects a probation officer to be an experienced child psychologist. We know, however, that with the right kind of interest is usually combined a fine intuitive sense which opens up avenues of real understanding. The third element is but a product of the two previous ones. A sympathetic adult with interest and understanding naturally perceives the needs of the individual child or, at least, he will enlist the aid of trained experts for this purpose. Here, again, it becomes apparent how artificial the well-known classification into normal and delinquent children really is. The less we emphasize the differences the more successful is our approach. To consider the delinquent child in a class by himself is to isolate him all the more and failure is practically certain. If such a distinction is to be kept up at all, we must always remember that no one will be given insight into the needs of a delinquent child who does not know the needs of a normal child.

Most people see in probation merely the technique—the older school supervision, the progressive group investigation, and social treatment. While it is true that without a thorough knowledge of social case work even the fittest is greatly handicapped, the decisive factor is, nevertheless, our attitude toward the child. Technique is never more than a means to an end. A person who possesses the three mentioned prerequisites will almost invariably develop technique, while a mere technician in this work is worse than a circus clown who may not have wisdom but at least has a sense of humor.

In its application probation involves four-cornered teamwork. The judge and the clinic should be filled with the same spirit of leadership based on genuine interest in the child. With them lies above all the responsibility for reactions of the child to his first contacts with those who are to guide him. Their approach may build or destroy the bridge upon which the probation officer is to meet the child on their common journey. And during this journey judge and clinic should be aware of its course, and when serious obstacles are encountered they should be ready with a helping hand to both probation officer and child. Instead of following a more or less mechanical procedure timed by continuances and terms of probation, as it is practiced in almost every juvenile court, the method should be as elastic as possible and close to the needs of life.

The chief responsibility rests on the probation officer. He has to direct this teamwork. He takes up the threads laid bare by judge and clinic and he is to build on the foundation begun. If court and clinic succeeded in awakening confidence in the child, the probation officer is confronted with the difficult but fascinating task of developing it into a really constructive force. The probation officer is the executor of the plan worked out and he organizes the net of helpers to be called upon—judge, clinic, parents, older brothers or sisters, teachers, club leaders, and social agencies.

The central link in the ring is naturally the child. Unless he is won over to the realization that he is in the team—and not one of the opposite side—our efforts are bound to be futile. He should feel and experience that all the steps taken are in his interest. The use of force in any form obviously prevents such cooperation. There are situations in which we may feel that we have to place our ward before the choice of following a certain course or facing commitment to an institution, but we are the losers if events have cornered us in such a fashion. Our chance for constructive work has passed.

Equally important is the cooperation of the community represented by home, school, employer, and recreational organizations. Toward these different groups which constitute the child's daily world the probation officer is the interpreter of the child's conduct and of what in fairness may be expected of him. A probation officer's insight should enable him to show in simple and clear language where the difficulties lie and what may cause friction. This is perhaps the most important function of his job. No one will listen to him unless he inspires confidence by tactful approach and by his willingness to understand the point of view of these different groups of adults who are dealing with the child in their daily contacts. Only as he visualizes their views and attitudes will he find ways to show them the child's position vividly enough to enlist their aid along constructive lines. His task is to bring child and community on common ground again; this alone renders teamwork possible. He should possess the ability to make both sides see the difficulties of the other so that the child as well as the adults involved will eventually realize that there is no conflict of interests and that the problem is a process of growth which is more complex than usual and therefore requires more effort and attention. Child and adult will begin to respect each other, and a spirit of mutual help will gradually take the place of warfare. It has been my experience that the easiest way to show a boy the consequences of his misconduct at home and in school is to have him imagine the rôle of a parent or a teacher. If this is done in the spirit of real sympathy enlivened by a wholesome sense of humor the boy usually is willing to see things in a different light. The same is true of many parents and teachers. Quite often, I have found teachers who begin to change their tactics and try to win the boy's interest by carefully weighing the tasks given him and by encouraging him; they trust him with special duties or they assign him to work along the lines of his natural inclinations. I have met principals who transferred a boy to different courses or to a different teacher when the boy's problem was explained to them.

It should be absolutely clear that successful probation work depends on the willingness of these four groups to cooperate. Everyone must feel responsibility for the outcome. Court, probation officer, child, and community should rise to the point where they are willing to make an honest effort as a player in our team.

Probation thus understood shows how utterly irrational and unsatisfactory is the idea of a set probation term. The court should work with the child so long as he needs help—which in many cases means all through childhood and adolescence, even though there is no further delinquency.

You may find this a somewhat academic interpretation of probation work. And perhaps we expect too much. However, we realize that life is at the same time less complete and more complex. Is there any other way of giving the best we are capable of in any field of human activity than by working out clear ideas and far reaching goals? If they are mediocre and void of inspiration we invariably fall back on levels far below our own capacity and professional dignity.

Let us turn now to the kind of probation work actually done today. What are the stages of progress we meet in the courts throughout this country?

The embryo stage we find in the probation officer who is a mere card index, or some kind of a clerk busying himself with filling out simple record cards. His vocabulary is primitive and his vision limited. If he talks to the boy he tells him to be good and to leave things alone which belong to somebody else. I have seen probation officers of this type who never had a real conversation with their probationers. A few perfunctory questions are asked about school or work. Once a week the boys line up and their probation cards are marked. This probation officer depends in his judgment of the child on the offense and on remarks made by police officers and parents. If the boy or girl is not arrested again during the probation period and if the parents do not take the trouble to make complaints at the office in court, the case is filed when the term is up, and the probation is a success. This sounds unbelievably primitive, but my observations lead me to think that this probation officer is far more frequent than we like to admit.

Then there is the probation officer who assumes the rôle of a parson. His lectures are long and exhaustive and monotonous. Threats in veiled or open form flow in abundance. I know a probation officer who makes practically the same speech to every boy no matter what his offense or problem may be. He warns him against stealing though the boy never showed any inclination for it. I wonder if this officer knows anything of the dangers of suggestion. I believe that this type, too, is known to most of us.

Neither of these two probation officers are good listeners. The child has no chance to tell his story. The court experience was a mere incident in his life which gains importance only if he should get caught again—as he might then be "sent away." Neither of these probation officers ever leaves the courthouse. If any information is brought to them in their office, before closing hours, they may use it in court. Their discretion in this matter is unlimited.

The third group consists of probation officers with a touch of technique. They know something about social investigation, and they attempt to supervise by means of home calls and consultations with the attendance officer, or even occasionally with the school teacher. But it is a haphazard affair and lacks the discipline of mind required to build up a diagnosis and a plan of treatment.

Next, we meet the supervisor—the probation officer who is conscientious enough to follow up the child's conduct in the community but expects him to fight a lone struggle on the path of reconstruction. This probation officer remains aloof and has no relationship with the child. He is eager enough to live up to his function of being the "watchful eye of the court," but he fails to recognize his opportunities for constructive work. He is an official with a conscience but no imagination.

On a considerably higher plane moves the social technician. This probation officer knows social case work and practices it as far as his case load permits. He views his problems in terms of cases, he is efficient, he diagnoses and plans, but he, too, fails to build a relationship with his ward which is the basis of true leadership. He rather dictates than guides. So far this type is very rare. However, we are in the way of developing him if we follow the course which social work has taken in so many places. The number is large of social workers who are efficient and well-trained case workers but without vision, without independent judgment, without humility, without real sympathy and a sense of humor which should permeate their work. These social workers fail to achieve that understanding which is the essence of any worth while human relationship. The emphasis placed on technique by some of our schools of social work is largely responsible for this situation. Some time ago I knew a student who went into social work with all the enthusiasm, eagerness, and idealism of youth. After six months in the school she commented on a boy who had to be placed: "After all, we are not so very keen to accept this case." She had learned a new language, and her attitude had changed with it. I pointed out to her that, though the parents were difficult to deal with, the boy needed the country both for his physical and mental health and it was our business to give him this chance. Fear of failure was stronger than interest in the boy's welfare with this young worker who had been initiated into the mysteries of trained case work.

The highest stage we meet in the probation officer who is a leader in the work with maladjusted boys or girls. His ideal of probation work will move along the lines developed at the beginning of this paper. If he exists at all, it still remains to be seen how near he comes to the requirements set in a paper given at the Conference of the National Probation Association by Miss Miriam Van Waters in 1923:

> It takes unusual insight and imagination to realize the human forces with which the probation officer deals. He has the twofold task of discovering human forces and of directing them into the conquest of delinquency. Probation officers should have the requisite education, training and experience. There is no excuse for their not knowing the elements of biology, psychology, sociology and the facts of mental hygiene. They should be social physicians and their attitude should be that of the social worker, he who builds up social relationships. They should have

> respect for the worth, dignity and integrity of human personality. They should use knowledge, not force, in the solution of their problems. They should believe in miracles, those daily miracles of the reconstruction of broken human lives.

Probation is being increasingly criticized by the public. It is commonly considered a merciful gesture of a benevolent judge who "gives the poor kid a chance" to go on. (What a fair, real chance means in the individual case, neither judge nor parents seem concerned about.) The public is right if court and probation officer fail to do a real piece of work. How can the layman conceive that probation does not run against the interests of a civilized community, but expresses its highest ideals? How can the man of the street be made to see that probation is the most hopeful way out of delinquency and crime, if nothing is done and court and probationer fail to meet the responsibilities involved? If we care to safeguard this most modern of methods in criminology, it is our duty to condemn unhesitatingly the work of the large majority of probation officers of today who are merely holding a job in public office. Their presence is directly and indirectly harmful to the work with the individual child as well as to the progress of the movement in general. Unless we take a clear stand in this matter, we shall never see the day when probation work as we understand it will be done on a large scale in this country. And not until then shall we be able to evaluate to what extent we succeed in aiding delinquents to adjust themselves in the community without having to submit to the hazards of institutional training.

HOW CRIMINAL JUSTICE WORKS

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IN THIS paper I shall attempt to present only a few general conclusions concerning two definite but related questions. The first question relates to the methods and agencies, such as crime commissions, through which facts have been discovered, correlated, and published. The second relates to the dominant lessons which may be drawn from these facts. Is there a state of affairs conditioning the administration of criminal justice so basic and fundamental that it may be used as the basis of constructive action by those concerned with reform?

In 1920, as director of the Cleveland Foundation, I suggested that the Foundation make a survey of criminal justice as it actually operated in the urban community of Cleveland. I had in mind the fact that the survey method had been successfully used in other aspects of community life, in education, social welfare, recreation, and in certain economic problems. It seemed to me that while sophisticated people might know quite well the conditions attending the administration of criminal justice, these conditions were not generally known to the community as a whole, and that consequently it was desirable to set forth in convincing and authoritative manner a picture of these facts, in order that the community might see itself in perspective and plan measures for self-improvement on the basis of fairly accurate data. I think it is true that the social survey presents itself in the very first instance as a means of community education. In spite of the fact, however, that the purpose of the survey was fundamentally educational, it was much more than casually related to the deeper and perhaps more fundamental objective of a quest for truth, such as is indicated by projects in pure research. The ideals established by the Cleveland Foundation implied that in the making of a survey such talent should be employed and such thoroughgoing methods should be used that the survey might be certain to stand before the community firm and unshaken by the controversial attacks which it was almost certain to provoke.

When a survey is conducted under such favorable conditions as to the persons employed to make it, the conditions under which they work, and the facilities placed at their disposal, it becomes obviously a contribution to the sum of human knowledge which will afford an instrument for community education. In other words, it becomes research in the best sense of that term. It sets forth a body of facts which scholars may subsequently interpret and relate to other facts.

Surveys serve two purposes. They educate the public immediately and they provide dependable material for scientific research and scholarship. I confess that these two objectives sometimes find themselves in conflict. Those who are concerned in the immediate education of the community may feel that certain facts should be unmentioned; and on the other hand those interested in surveys as research alone may wish to pursue inquiries which can have no immediate and possibly only doubtful ultimate value. I found it necessary to reconcile these objectives and experience prompts me to conclude that this is perhaps the most difficult of all problems of reconciliation.

In the eight years since the Cleveland survey a most definite movement in the direction of an objective study of criminal justice in action is to be observed. State wide surveys have been made in Missouri, Georgia, New York, Illinois. Special studies, such as Dr. Kirchwey's significant examination of the problem of detention before trial in Chicago, have been made. Some universities, notably Harvard, have recognized the value of realistic studies of the criminal law in action. The National Crime Commission came into being in 1925 and to a large extent because of its influence official crime commissions have been formed in about twenty states. The lack of adequate funds for scientific research provided for most of these commissions will result in somewhat inadequate reports, but in New York, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, and California a good deal of significant data have and will be published. The recognition by President Hoover of the need for fact finding in this field is additional evidence of the vitality of the movement.

An attempt to catch the spirit and import of a research movement so diversified runs a grave risk of total failure. My conclusions, therefore, must be taken as highly impressionistic and entirely personal. I shall begin by restating the conclusions which it seemed to me were the more significant ones established by the Cleveland survey. In a paper[1] read before this Conference seven years ago, I enumerated as the significant conclusions made by the Cleveland survey as to the present state of criminal justice, the following: first, a police department engaged in performing its duties in a perfunctory, unimaginative way with an organization inadequate to meet the needs of modern crime, composed of men, honest in the main, but untrained and uneducated; second, prosecution conducted without system and amid unbelievable distractions, performed by second rate and politically selected lawyers, inadequate to meet the tremendous responsibilities of the office; third, a judiciary subjected to all sorts of political influences and particularly weak in the face of strong pressure from significant groups in the community, a judiciary, moreover, which gave unmistakable signs of a decline in quality as against the judiciary of a generation ago; fourth, difficulties caused by the introduction of certain standards of journalism, the unmistakable influence of what is known as "trial by the press," and the absence of strongly organized public sentiment behind such responsible groups as the bar association and others.

An examination of the printed results of a greater part of the research conducted by the agencies I have mentioned compels the conclusion that the observations which I drew then, as the result of my experience in the Cleveland survey, indicate that in most of the jurisdictions of the United States, the conditions described are characteristic, with, of course, certain happy exceptions. Police departments are still inadequate to meet their responsibilities, prosecution is still strongly political and sometimes unfortunately tainted with corruption, judges are still keeping their ears attuned to the voices of the voters, and their actions, to some degree at least, are determined by considerations that are not wholly non-political. In the field of public opinion, the seven years have seen the growth of that amazing product of modern sensation, the tabloid newspaper.

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[1] See *Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work*, 1922, p. 58.

Consequently the problems brought to light by the Cleveland survey are still before us, and, I regret to conclude, no nearer solution than they were then. I have no easy optimism; I am not going to say here or elsewhere that the sunrise is at hand; I merely point out that we are beginning to get our bearings. If one must be an irrepressible optimist he may interpret the getting of one's bearings as the beginning of improvement.

One observation perhaps more than any other is necessary if we are to interpret intelligently and carefully the results of such fact material as these surveys have brought forth. A striking contrast exists between the representations of those who ascribe most of the troubles in the field of the administration of criminal justice to procedural and other legal shortcomings and the actual facts gathered by a realistic appraisal of criminal justice. From President Taft down, the legal profession has almost unanimously asserted that the reason why the administration of criminal justice does not work better is because the legal machinery for it needs reconstruction. The familiar theme is something like this: Our rules of procedure are the product of a past generation in which it was necessary to create safeguards for the accused. These safeguards were intended to protect citizens against the tyranny of an all too powerful executive. Modern conditions have made these rules unnecessary to protect the average citizen, but they are still used by defendants to protect themselves against the state to such an extent that they render almost futile the activities of law enforcement officers. As a result of these "legal loopholes," as they are sometimes called, justice becomes slow and very uncertain. The remedy is a readjustment of the balance between the state and the defense. Reduce the advantages possessed by the defense in the game of the criminal trial! The remedy possesses the virtue of simplicity at any rate.

It is my deliberate judgment after what seems to me a fair examination of the facts that the legal profession in offering the foregoing formula is guilty of a perfectly natural and explainable process of rationalizing itself out of a difficult problem of responsibility. It has most artfully discovered a scapegoat which consists of a body of material known as rules of procedure. If its explanation is accepted, the weak and the lazy political prosecutor can say that the rules of the game have rendered him impotent, and the police department which is unable to get evidence can say that it has failed because criminal cases cannot be proved against competently defended criminals.

In the first place, it is doubtful if examination of the appellate decisions of our state courts will bear out the assertion that the instrumentalities of justice are seriously handicapped by the rules of procedure. Research in this problem, although fragmentary and inadequate, indicates clearly that certain procedural problems which legalists have blamed for the failure of justice are of negligible significance in providing avenues of escape for well defended criminals. The form of indictment long used as a scapegoat has brought about the reversal of relatively few cases. It may be resorted to by courts in explaining a reversal on grounds of substantial justice, but it is rarely responsible for the miscarriage of substantial justice. An examination of this subject by the Missouri and Illinois surveys, as well as by certain of my students working on the appellate decisions of Texas and North Carolina, gives evidence that we still have a government of men rather than of laws.

Another example is pertinent. I assembled certain data for the New York State Crime Commission which were designed to throw light upon the question of sentences and sentencing. Governor Smith had proposed a plan for a sentencing board whose purpose should be to assume the function of fixing sentences now vested in the trial judges. A statistical study of sentences indicated the widest difference in the determination of sentences in various jurisdictions. Robbery in the first degree drew lighter sentences in some counties than robbery in the third degree in others. Never was there clearer evidence of the futility of legislative control over a matter which needs to be subjected to the nice adjustments of individual treatment. The unfortunate practice now is that the individualizing is left to the judge, acting without adequate knowledge of the problem at issue rather than to a competent parole system operating under an indeterminate sentence law. Whether we will or not, a system operated by human beings will individualize treatment regardless of the law. Whether this individualization will be well done or not depends upon how frankly we recognize the need and provide for it.

In a recent book I have dwelt at length upon another aspect of this wide difference between what Dean Pound calls "the law in books and the law in action." Attention is called there to the fact that the traditional criminal trial is rapidly becoming obsolete and that instead there is a well-defined tendency to adjust individual cases through the infinite possibilities of the plea of guilty. The significance of this method of disposing of cases was first brought to light in the Missouri survey. Even then the revolutionary character of this procedure was not fully apparent. However, when I discovered in the statistical reports of the New York State Crime Commission, and subsequently in the Illinois survey, that a vast proportion of cases are compromised by the acceptance of pleas to a lesser offense, it became apparent that the whole process of justice as defined in the books is, in practice, something quite different. That the criminal law is an illogical and impractical legislative gesture became apparent. When these figures were first published, the reaction of the legalists was entirely true to form. "More leniency," they said. "The law is made a feeble and helpless gesture." When I presented to the American Bar Association a year ago the facts concerning this method of compromising cases I was denounced by the prosecutors who thought I was criticizing them for being too lenient. Nothing could be farther from my reaction to the conditions described. The fact that cases were disposed of so largely with only secondary reference to the offense committed and the penalty described by the law for such an offense is merely symptomatic of a fundamental necessity to adjust treatment to the conditions of each individual case. That the American prosecutor, so generally incompetent and political, is not the person to exercise this power I am confident, but that someone must do it cannot be disputed. It is a neat way by which legalism surrenders the substance of its case while retaining the form and the method.

Consider, for example, the famous Baumes fourth offender law. The significance of this law is not so much that it provides a life sentence for habitual offenders but that it denies discretion to the judge in such cases, and also arbitrarily denies the possibility of parole. It was clearly an effort by legislative act to create a rule so automatic in its operation and so divorced from the possibility of abuse by "sentimental" judges and parole officers that "justice" as interpreted by the kindly advisers of Senator Baumes might be administered. But discretion has not departed even in the face of this legislative thunderbolt. Not many months after the law had gone into effect a friendly New York police captain said to me, "This Baumes law is a fine law. It would help a lot if it were enforced. But what can the police do? The district attorneys are gettin' away with murder." Inquiry into what had happened revealed that while the police captain's assertion regarding the district attorneys was an overstatement, it was undoubtedly true that they were "gettin' away" with a lot of discretion. After an indictment it was apparent that there was a consideration of each individual case by the district attorney's office and, if the circumstances seemed to warrant, a plea to misdemeanor was permitted, thus allowing the defendant to escape a life sentence. Persons charged with pocket picking who would, if convicted, suffer a life term because of prior convictions, were permitted to plead to "jostling," a misdemeanor carrying an inconsequential workhouse sentence.

The acceptance of a plea either to the offense originally charged, or to some other offense created to fit the individual case, is of course a legal way of achieving a method of treatment. It uses a legal form to accomplish a perfectly legal but illogical objective. The offense for which the defendant pleads guilty has really never been committed while the state is waiving all punishment for an offense which really has been committed. What actually happens is that the defendant says to the state, "I am willing to suffer some punishment from you but the amount that I will suffer must be determined to some extent by the conditions of my own case. I will plead guilty to the offense charged if you will promise not to enforce the penalty or I will plead guilty to something else, or what have you?" The state, on the other hand, adjusts itself in a very simple manner. It avoids a trial and carries out the semblance of justice. The justification given for the method of disposition which I have described is that "substantial" justice is done. In other words, the prosecutors, and to some extent the judges, are aware of the unsatisfactory character of the criminal law as applied to individual cases and they substitute their own judgment for the judgment of the legislature.

On a recent visit to a certain court I observed that in nearly every case the judge disposed of the case largely on the recommendations of the probation department. A case would come before the court in which it seemed desirable that the defendant be treated for drug addiction. The probation department would inform the judge that in a certain correctional institution excellent treatment for such addiction was being given. The judge would then consider the law, and select an offense the punishment for which would enable him to send the prisoner to the institution named, and ask the defendant to plead guilty to that offense. The prisoner would usually agree and the objective recommended by the probation department would be achieved. As case after case was decided on this basis, the conclusion was forced upon me that here was a court in which the forms of justice as indicated by legal tradition were being complied with but which in reality was administering substantial justice in accordance with a highly sophisticated social evaluation of each case. This evaluation was made by the probation department and to an astonishing degree the judge became the instrument for finding a legal means of doing what a case worker had decided was best. And this decision was made, not on the basis of the seriousness of the crime committed, but on the basis of what the individual delinquent needed. To my mind this is a wise and enlightened court. It represents the achievement of an entirely new type of justice under the forms of the old. It represents a maximum of departure from an outworn legalism.

In conclusion, it seems to me that the net results of the light which scientific research in the last few years has thrown upon the administration of criminal justice are that it has shown the extent to which the old legal formulas not only are inapplicable to modern conditions but have actually fallen into disuse. It has shown the futility of mere changes in form. In spite of the fact that it has shown the revolutionary change that has taken place, the recommendations of many of the crime commissions remain in the field of mere formal readjustment. This divergence between the conclusion and the fact is one of the most significant observations that might be made on some of our crime commissions' reports. The explanation is that no commission or organization of "practical" men is willing to face the implications of modern judicial practice. There are few judges and prosecutors who would deny my statements of fact, but there are few who would agree with my conclusions. This is largely because the legal mind prefers to achieve its revolution in a legal manner. It would retain the semblance of the old forms but is too honest to deny the substance. It would retain the king but would elect a labor government.

If research conducted, as it has been, under difficulties of many kinds can produce such significant results, further research of a more exacting and painstaking sort will result undoubtedly in still greater reconstruction of our thinking concerning the admission of criminal justice. Research of the sort which I hope will be done in increasing degree is illustrated by that of Dr. and Mrs. Sheldon Glueck in measuring the results of parole. Such research should be done under the most favorably protected conditions. Such conditions, I believe, are provided by universities or by adequately endowed institutes. In a field in which readjustments are matters of generations of evolution, it will not be harmful to use a few years in answering significant questions.

It is hardly wise to rely too confidently upon the platitude that truth is mighty and will prevail. Such a reliance neglects to observe that the thing that prevails in a democracy is not the truth but that which is accepted as truth. In my judgment the most dangerous enemies of the public interests are the public's interests. If we can, by linking research with such public agencies as crime commissions and bar associations, bring to public attention the results of patient study, we have perhaps achieved a measure of public education. This, it seems to me, is the legitimate function of such agencies. Whether the truth, however, will be accepted by the public and the public's lawmakers is not a question for the mere student of public affairs to answer. The elements of the answer to that question are still in the no-man's land of psychological research.

HUMAN NATURE UNDER AUTHORITY

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AS THE TWIG IS BENT

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ONE of the oldest of our heritage of proverbs is this—that as the twig is bent so groweth the tree. As all the ages have applied it freely to man's development we approach the subject on a historical or genetic basis. Man has always speculated upon his origin and his goal, but beyond this nothing has more amazed or confounded him than precisely this fact that each phenomenon of his life seems dependent upon earlier phenomena. There is a certain fatalism here against which he has at times rebelled, concerning which he has constructed innumerable proverbs, with which today is manufactured practically all his theory of behavior, upon which rests all his modern and varied projects in social engineering. For any understanding of the proverb and its still fresh challenge we must, then, trace its earlier meanings.

The theory of determinism.—Throughout historical periods there has been a fairly definite assumption that the child is father to the man. The proverb, of course, is old and there are many other similar expressions. All religions have assumed this. To take, for example, the Christian philosophy, we can go to a deterministic philosophy of the Reformation where the facts of our lives are considered as fixed from the time of the origin of our total cosmos, or to the Bible to hear that "as ye sow so shall ye reap," to find merely the two extremely opposite modes of expressing this same basic attitude—what we might broadly call a "theological determinism."

Our own time affects for this a disdain. We do not so much go to church. We say that, after all, probably there isn't any God, and that religion is much of a man made bugaboo to keep people afraid of misbehaving themselves. It is interesting, to the point of humor, that as we avidly tear down this old theory we build a new theory that differs but in words. Today we blithely speak of a "psychological determinism."

Our modern psychological and psychiatric schools are characterized by nothing more insistent and common than the belief that what I am doing today is forced upon me by the events of the past. This is really all that is implied in the unconscious, the conflicts, etc., about which we talk. They are the formulas that the psychiatrist builds to explain why we act as we do. He believes that what we do is determined by previous events, and as he cannot always find these events in the open or conscious life, he has said that there must be an "unconscious." No one has ever seen the unconscious; no one has observed it; it is not an observable phenomenon. Is it not interesting that back of all this newer development, just as back of the theological tenets, is the one proverb—the deep-seated conviction of man that the events of today are absolutely determined by previous events? We invoke God, chemistry, the unconscious, what not, to explain all of this but these are mere terms to satisfy ourselves as to the process involved.

We note one exception representing man's rebellion against a doctrine which he acknowledges as true but which he does not like. Throughout all theological disciplines has extended the faith in "conversion." Fundamentally this is the notion that man can be rid of his past—can "start all over new." If "conversion" or "revival" were a proved and accepted tenet in our whole social philosophy, then our proverb means nothing. "Conversion" must express one of the deep-seated cravings of man. It is too prevalent a doctrine to allow of any other statement. It is a sort of "exception" to the general rule—probably arising out of man's individual rebellion against the fatalism of determinism—whether that be a determinism of theology or psychology.

The importance of tradition.—Following the acceptance of determinism was necessarily the construction of safe guides for the conduct of life. This is social custom or tradition. Starting as the handmaiden of man's acceptance of determinism, it was not long before this same tradition became the all-important interest. Thus tradition became so vast a monument to man's belief in determinism that as our own times have seen it crumble and totter, the basic principle to which it was erected has well-nigh also been destroyed.

Until recently these customs and religious tenets have been relatively stable and fixed. Of course there are still people who present much the same modes of living that obtained three hundred years ago. There were four factors in this fixity of tradition. First, relatively few phenomena made their appearance in any given time. This meant that the "leaders of thought" had plenty of time to mold and "squeeze" into the general philosophical or theological tradition any new phenomenon before another came along. Second, none of the new facts contained any serious threat to the prevailing conception of the nature of man. Lavoisier's discovery that living is nothing more romantic than a process of combustion; the breakdown in the 30's of the distinction between organic and inorganic chemistry; Darwin's notion of the kinship of all animals; all these are relatively recent and we have in them the kernel of any serious thought that after all man may not be the "set-apart" soul that he earlier believed himself to be. All this was a threat to the theory as to the nature of man and his mode of living. Third, there was little travel. People stayed near home, and accepted the constraints of community gossip and ancestral custom. The railroad, the automobile, and the newspaper have managed tremendously to move people away from their homes and to stir a greater interchange of personal, unfettered opinion. Fourth, there was a reverence for tradition itself, perhaps of course largely based upon the factors given.

Dualism in social philosophy.—With tradition or custom or tenet thoroughly established and the persistent recognition of the essential struggle of all life, it became very easy to develop a theory of the existence within people of a tendency to follow tradition and a tendency not to follow tradition. This soon developed into a belief in a tendency to do "right" and a tendency to do "wrong." There thus arose in social theory a duality in the sense that every person was supposed to contain two mutually antagonistic drives.

It is not surprising that tradition was thought to be good and the "soul" was thought of as a part of man that would want to follow tradition. This soul was imprisoned in a corporeal affair—the flesh—which was constantly making trouble. If you only sufficiently conquered the flesh the spirit would be free to follow tradition, because it (the spirit) was inherently good. Good men of all religions castigated the flesh, believing that with this "out of the way" there would be an untrammeled following of what was right.

We still cling to this notion of duality. Man likes antitheses, and has built them into his philosophy wherever he could. Man has, however, become tired of tradition, and has effected its discard. Let us see the amazing result. Now there is still a right and a wrong, and man still has a soul in the sense that he has something within him that is eager and ready to do "right." No longer is he trammeled by his own flesh. Indeed, it is precisely this flesh that is the "soul," that knows the "right" if left alone! Accordingly, it is tradition itself which does not understand man's essentially "ortho" tendencies and which would bend him wrongly! We have essentially now the child born with an inherent "right" within him, and it is only as this meets the trammels of man made tradition that he is warped into badness. Psychoneuroses, personality difficulties, unhappiness itself, all, by this theory, are due to the inhibitions and thwartings that bind this essentially correctly growing person. We are not being too schematic, I think, in saying that formerly you must bend the twig to make it grow aright whereas now a voluble portion of our colleagues in social theory claims that the twig grows aright precisely to the extent that it is not bent.

In summary, we have seen man's persistent belief in some form of determinism, in this, that whatever one does for a youngster will later show in his life. This necessitated the development of social custom or creed as a sort of body of generally acceptable principles for bending the twig. Then, because man resisted this molding, a dualistic philosophy was woven into the fabric of social theory soon to develop into notions of good and bad tendencies, right and wrong drives, gracious and sinful acts. In this summary we pause to stress one point. Tradition (the only tangible, observable part of this social philosophy) naturally developed to overweening proportions. Upon its rigidity and "rightness" man sacrificed his every possession, and its alteration became in any instance an operation of major magnitudes. Man rather naturally thus exalts symbols.

In coming to our own time we would guess that people have themselves changed very little. What has been altered markedly are the conditions under which they live. This has meant new adjustments, and, consequently, new social theory. Two basic changes have occurred, two of extreme importance to our adjustments. First, the crumbling of the power and stability of tradition or social custom. We no longer seek what is old, but what is new. And just because tradition was the only tangible element in our whole philosophy of authority, has that entire structure, in our minds, crumbled and tottered. Second, the "discovery of the individual." Every discipline from chemistry to philosophy has been conspiring to break our faith in extra-human values and affirming the individual's "right" to live his own life.

In thus comparing the old and the new there is no giving up of the notion of duality. The idea of a "right" way of doing things, of finding efficiency and happiness, and of a wrong way has persisted. Moreover, there is struggle between this "right" and "wrong"; man seems unable to give up this notion; it seems so intimate a part of our everyday adjustments. Nevertheless, there remains a marked alteration in the theory. The earlier theory was that because the flesh was powerful and inherently bad, man could be bettered only by bending the twig to social custom, tradition, or law. With the growing consciousness of the individual and the feeling that tradition only hampers his full expression, we quite naturally now say that the twig should be left alone, that its bending is only its thwarting. We repeat a schematization, unfairly perhaps, but making somewhat clear this distinction. Until recently man has felt that as the twig is bent it will grow as it should, in distinction to the present view that as the twig is bent it will grow as it should not.

What are some of the results? First, the psychoanalysts forward the view that we inherently know the "right" way to go, and that our various illnesses come only as the repressions of a social order curtail and inhibit these "ortho" tendencies. Second, we psychiatrists and others, entering the schools, state that the rigidity of the curriculum is wrong, so that many have become interested in the "*child*-centered" school, an affair which again infers the essential "rightness" of the child's innate tendencies. Third, we have approached the social worker, the probation officer, and the judge with again this plea that they "understand" the individual—this a term to cloak thinly our notion that various social procedures tend only to warp the individual and that if we but knew him well enough and let him express himself fully enough, there would be little difficulty. Fourth, witness, finally, the poor parent, who sees himself now the child's worst enemy and is expected to keep "hands off," to allow at every chance that the child "express his individuality." In all this we see a vigorous reaction against the validity and sacrosanct impregnability of tradition. Unfortunately, the premises upon which this impregnability was based have also been thrown away, leaving a fairly well developed and definite false notion that if we could really entirely refrain from bending the twig, then the tree would of its own nature grow correctly.

Our empirical data place this theory on very real probation. Were these notions valid, then would we expect for the present at least some easement of our social problems. This does not appear to be the fact. Admittedly, man now faces problems of vast magnitude; admittedly, the adjustments involved are new.

Granting this, we make, with considerable assurance, the assertion that there has not been any such easing of our problems as might fairly be expected were this new theory valid. In fact, may it be said, there is a widespread belief that this scrapping of tradition and the power of social custom is in itself further contributing to the magnitude and difficulty of our problems. The difficulty in this theory is that in throwing away tradition we have thrown away all concept of authority. Our terminology is not that because we have outgrown certain traditions there should be remolded new traditions, but (as tradition long represented the concrete symbol of authority) because tradition is outworn therefore we must throw away all authority. I am born into a world of "authority" in the sense in which the word is used here. I am subject, from birth, to a world which from the start says that I must obey. This is inescapable and any social theory that does not take this into consideration is not sound theory. Whether, as a youngster, it is my parents who *can* punish me; whether, later in life, it is society which *can* kill me or send me to war; whether, in the higher integrations, lightning strikes me, or rain or shine in too great quantities blight or end my life, all this matters little. The important matter is that from birth on through life, I, as everyone else, am subject to authority in the sense that I am constantly in the presence of forces that are more powerful than I, forces whose motivation far transcends the arena of my personal understanding or interest. The newer theory about bending the twig has been developed to meet new social conditions. Its fault is that it has not differentiated between authority and what is really only one of its symbols, so that in discarding tradition it has attempted to discard "authority."

Where, then, can we turn? Determinism we must accept; its existence is implied in every aspect of our lives. More and more will determinism accept the notion of "authority" as the word is used in this paper, of the omnipresence of forces that transcend the power and arena of the individual. We guess that instead of a "theological determinism" or a "psychological determinism" we will turn to a "situational determinism." The term is used as Miss Follett uses it, to mean that the fact of the next moment is determined by the *total situation* up to and including this moment. This is a flowing, creative determinism. The notion of duality we probably cannot escape. Man will always think that he discerns a correct and an incorrect way of doing things. From the activities of the tiniest tot to the realm of our national disasters exists this pressing and immediate business of finding that somebody was to blame! This matter of guilt placing, of refusing to reconstruct until we have satisfied ourselves as to who tore down, this is the commonest, the most paralyzing, the most childish of all human activities. Not pausing for discussion here, one may yet be certain that the acceptance of a theory of "situational determinism" implies the scrapping of the more paralyzing aspects of our notions of "right" and "wrong." When we employ one-tenth the time to *do* something about a situation that we now take in "fixing the blame," then truly will we be on a forward path.

Let us not forget that the twig will be bent. If you teach parents not to bend the child, then he will be bent by the school. If you succeed in teaching the parents and the school that they must not warp the child's life, then organized society will do the bending. If all of these forces are brought some time to feel that they must not interfere with the growing twig, then all the more ungracious will seem the laws of nature that do the bending.

"As the twig is bent" still implies that the twig will be bent, that it faces these forces of transcending power through its entire life. Someone must teach parents, schools, the law that the real task is to show the child that he must meet the conditions of authority, to show him that only here lies the road to happiness. We have taught this authority through tradition, and in an age that questions tradition we are dumbfounded that our children question "authority." This is of our own teaching, for we ourselves have not distinguished between "authority" and its mere symbol-tradition. Because he had tradition man has said, "As the twig is bent," meaning that the important matter is the direction in which it is bent. As we recognize the "authority" that tradition so long cloaked, we say, "As the twig is bent," meaning that the important matter is the method which we use in bending the twig. We cannot escape its bending.

This is your task. Maybe you are a bit surprised at what has been said. Maybe you expected me to say that our social problems are very serious, that this is because we deal so much with adults, with end-products who are beyond change, that hope lies only in the guidance of children, and that I could discern the psychiatrist and his clinic coming full-sail—succor for shipwrecked society. All that you have heard before. A few gilding words from me would only retouch the picture a bit. It's a good picture, in large part quite faithful to the scene.

But that is not the nub of the matter. In an age of materialism, of tangible matters, tradition and social custom have largely lost their influence. There are not the "spiritual" forces to make us heed the existence of "authority," because our age demands symbols, concrete evidences, and proofs. We psychiatric workers joined in the scuttling, we helped raise the Jolly Roger; and hailed its new inscription: "The twig shall *not* be bent."

Prison or no prison, reformatory or no reformatory, industrial school or no, probation or no, clinic or no, psychiatric or no, our problems and our happiness will go on until *you* teach to a material age the spiritual existence and power of authority. From a people who crave money, things, actualities, we have helped to take away their one real symbol of authority—the power of tradition (social or religious). The dilemma is as much ours as anyone's. The way out I have tried at some length to show in this paper. Here we say only that you must reteach a material age that there are what one may call "spiritual" values, and that the basis of all social theory is that always the twig is actually bent. The rest of it is the care, the tenderness, and the real vision which lie in the method that we use in this bending.

THE PRISON AS CHARACTER BUILDER

Jack Black, Author of "You Can't Win," San Francisco

IF ANY person was ever justified in standing up in front of an audience and saying "Unprepared as I am," that person is myself. Not because I was conscripted at the last minute to come here and talk, but because for twenty-five years I have been schooling myself to the very reverse of talking. Once as a boy I was brought into a police station to be questioned by the captain. The prisoner who sat next to me on the bench was an old man.

"What's the matter, kid?" he asked.

"Nothing much," I replied.

"Well," he said, jerking his head toward the captain's office, "speech may be silver but silence is safety, around here."

I disregarded the sage's advice and in trying to convince the captain that he was wrong I talked myself into a lot of trouble.

From then on I practiced silence—got my vocabulary down well within a hundred words and kept it there. I never spoke except to say to a cop, "You've got me wrong." In a restaurant I said, "Ham an' and coffee"; in a bar, "A shot of that Old Crow."

I've made a few talks in public but they have always been very brief and pointed. My most successful speeches consisted of just two words, "Not guilty"; and I might add I've heard many long, wordy speeches that didn't mean much more than "Not guilty."

If you expect a speech you'll be disappointed. I'm no speaker, no statistician—wouldn't know a statistic if I found one in my soup. I'm no philosopher. If my philosophy were charted, it would resemble a blue print of the Los Angeles river—a mile wide and an inch deep.

I'm no reformer—I've simply substituted the pen for the pistol, that's all. I argue with nobody. If I meet a man who tells me the world is flat, it's all right with me: if he wants to live in a flat world, all right.

I've no complaint against anything—not even prohibition, and won't have, unless some rabid wet has a law passed forcing me to drink synthetic gin—then I'll kick. Prohibition has its good points: before prohibition the bars were closed on Sundays and election days and on those days one couldn't get a drink; now the bars never close.

I have no firm conviction or fixed conclusions. I change some of my opinions every day. That's one reason why I think I am sane. You know there are people who will not change their minds—they are right and that's the end of it. Most of them are in the incurable wards of asylums; the balance of them are organizing cults.

I was invited out here to tell this gathering and, incidentally, to inform the universe, about prisons and prisoners: what they are, and how they got that way, and what to do about it.

That's a big job for one man, too big for me, for I'm not yet quite sure how I got that way, and I've been thinking it over for the last fifteen years. I'm here, not as a speaker, rather as an exhibit in the case, an articulate exhibit, a straw in the wind, if you like. I think my own case is fairly typical of thousands of boys who go to prison and leave it only to take up a life of crime. In studying my own case I think I have hit upon a clue, just a faint clue, and I'll submit it to you for what it is worth. That's what you are here for—clues. It is your business to explode them or develop them, as may be.

You know that up to a certain age we all act on instinct rather than reason. Some learn to think and reason earlier than others because of better home atmosphere and surroundings, more sympathetic and understanding parents whose interest in their children doesn't end with feeding and clothing them and who have time to instruct them by precept and example, to teach them to think and reason rationally, and to respect their neighbors' feelings and property. Boys with such parents are usually good boys. There's another kind of parent who is tough and wants his son to be tough. If the boy gets into a quarrel with a neighbor boy, the father says, "Go down and beat him up; if you don't I'll beat you up." If he finds the boy smoking a cigarette he says, "Throw that lousy thing away and get yourself a cigar." If he steals some trifle the father's advice is "You better not let them catch you at that." Some parents are so poor that both must work and their children run wild.

Once when I was a boy I lived in a poor neighborhood, and the most dutiful son and best boy was the one who could steal the most coal off freight cars in the winter time. These boys go on guided by instinct only. They haven't been taught to think or reason. They steal, they fight, they abuse girls. To steal is to eat; to fight is to survive; and to rape is to reproduce—all instinctive, human impulses. There you have the so-called bad boy. His acts are outlawed and sooner or later he is arrested, and then comes conflict with the police. Parole or probation may follow, but not having learned to reason he goes on with instinct his only guide. Then the day comes when he is sent to a prison or a reformatory—there's little difference. In prison there's no opportunity to go on doing the things that got him locked up, so he sits down to think it over. He begins to reason—*in prison.*

He thinks over his experiences with the police, with the courts; they were very bitter. He thinks over his reception by the prison keepers; very unpleasant.

Now, then, what happens? He reasons wrong, of course, because he has nothing but wrong to reason about. He thinks, but he thinks wrong because he began reasoning and thinking in a prison. He acquires bad and wrong mental habits which grow on him, and when he leaves that prison you have a criminal, and a criminal who will be hard to reform because he has wrong mental habits.

It doesn't matter whether a boy is guilty or innocent, he will be a criminal just the same if he learns to think and reason in an atmosphere of larceny. I know two boys personally who were in prison, innocent, yet they both became habitual criminals because they began thinking and reasoning in prison.

Again, you have Mooney and Billings. They are innocent, and they know the world knows they're innocent. They have slender hope of getting out, yet they are philosophical about it; they are not tearing their hair and damning everything a foot high, and if they are kept in prison thirteen years more they won't be criminals—because they learned to think and reason in a rational world, and that's all that keeps them sane.

Now, to go back to the chaps with the jail mentality. A mental habit is a tough one to cure, and I prove it to myself this way. Gambling is the hardest of all habits to break. Why? Because it's 100 per cent mental. I know. I've been an addict. Opium is the next hardest because it's probably 90 per cent mental. I know because I've dallied with the drug that kisses and then betrays. Booze is the next hardest to cure because it's about 50 per cent mental. I know because I've been a disciple of Barleycorn. I know hot-biscuit addicts: men whose wives put a plate of biscuits before them every morning. Then some morning something goes wrong with the stove and they have to eat bread. Of course they are nervous and irritable and their day is spoiled, but let this happen three days in succession and they're cured—because the habit is purely physical.

I may seem rather positive in my picture of a criminal in the making, but you must not think I am entirely sure of my ground. This theory of mine satisfies me when I try to explain myself to myself, and it has to be pretty good when it does that.

Well, then, you say, What is to be done about it? I'll admit I don't just know. Anybody can stand up and describe the wrongs he sees on every side, but ask him to prescribe for them and he is away out on a limb. I'm sure we ought to get rid of this notion of punishing people and revenging ourselves. But how to do it? Any mutt can stampede a bunch of people into a riot, a run on a bank, a lynching, or even into a war. He can convince them that an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth is the Christian and correct thing because it's in the Bible, but let someone try to tell them that they should "resist not evil" and see how far he gets.

I'm sure there's something wrong with our prisons. Some intelligent people say that the officers and guards should be reformed before trying to do anything with the prisoner. Confucius said, "Man differs only a little from the animal." I can testify from my own experience that jailers try to separate a man from that "little" when he goes to jail.

George W. Wickersham says that experience has proved that while to shut a man in prison for crime might deter others from lawbreaking, so far as the immediate offender is concerned the chances are that by subjecting him to prison influences society has created a habitual offender and has saddled itself with a pensioner for life.

I like to quote from such an authority. There's no bias there, and his opinions must be respected because he has never been under the frown of authority. There's a statement you can take without question. My statements must be carefully weighed, because when an ex-prisoner talks or writes about prisons, police, prosecutors, etc., too often it is his wounds that are speaking.

To get back to the prisons: What chance has the young boy at San Quentin, with its three thousand prisoners milling around like cattle, what chance has he to acquire right mental habits? What chance has he at Jefferson City, at Statesville, at Leavenworth, or Atlanta—all big prisons? The dead weight of depravity pulls him down before his name is dry on the books.

It pulls down the guards, the officers, and the wardens. Furthermore, the moment he steps into prison he sheds all sense of responsibility, and nothing is done while he is there to revive it. His bed and board are furnished, he is bathed and shaved, and his laundry is put in his cell. He knows that every jute bag he turns out at San Quentin is made at a loss to the state. He is taught nothing useful against the day of his discharge. It would be bad enough if he were standing still, but he's not; he is going backward and soon forgets the little he knew about getting along in the outside world. Things change so rapidly today that a mechanic who serves a term in prison must learn his trade over again when he gets out, and besides that he has the handicap of the prison stigma. Even a bootblack must start all over as an apprentice; he finds new leather, new polishes, and new ways of applying them.

It's no surprise to me that so many men return to prison; the surprise is that they don't all go back. They are released without any money sense, without any sense of responsibility, and they are as unfit to face the world with any honest endeavor as canaries released from a cage. They are stunned to find that the world has been racing forward while they have been going back, and that life has gone by and left them on a sidetrack—like a train leaving a tramp.

I think I got to be a crook because I had never done any serious thinking till I got locked up. There I learned to think in a crooked atmosphere and absorbed the philosophy of crooks. I found friends there and incurred obligations which tied me up to those friends when I got out. Little by little I drifted into the underworld, stayed there for twenty-five years, and sounded its depths and shoals. It might interest you to know how I got out of it. There's a woman in this gathering, Dr. Winifred Foster, of Oakland, a kindly, sympathetic, understanding, cultured American gentlewoman. Her work took her into the San Francisco jail, and I had many talks with her there. One of her friends is Mr. Fremont Older, the editor. She asked him to help me and he went to the trial judge who had sentenced me to twenty-five years under the habitual criminal act, Judge Frank H. Dunne, now of the probate court in this city. Judge Dunne took a chance and changed my sentence to one year at San Quentin. Now, after my talks with Dr. Foster I got a mental conviction that I was all wrong—that I was in a racket that I couldn't beat. That conviction wasn't enough to stop me though: no gambler quits when he's losing, he bets all the faster; no thief quits because he knows he's wrong, he keeps on plunging in hopes of a better break. In my case I not only realized I couldn't win but my loyalty was challenged. I was in hock to the three people who had saved me; I was up against it; I was in a hole where I had to quit to be square with them. And so I quit.

When I came out Mr. Older gave me a job on his paper and I stuck to it. After a few years he dragooned me into writing a book. It was a success, and I have a good income from it. My friends at San Quentin and Folsom read it. Some of them said: "If he can write a book, so can we." Shortly after, some very fine short stories appeared and were snapped up by publishers. Then came two excellent books. Many prisoners began studying, and clamoring for pens and paper and typewriters. Then, out of a clear sky, the California State Board of Prison Directors ruled that convicts would no longer be permitted to write anything for sale or publication.

Now, and I hope I can say this without heat or passion, that order accurately reflects the attitude of almost every prison board in the United States. There's an intimate glance at character building in prison! Many good people wonder at crime. I don't wonder at it, nor would they if they knew the character and caliber of the average prison official who is supposed to look after the correction and instruction of his charges. Here you have a seeming contradiction: our prisons instead of reforming prisoners, are geared and guaranteed to grind out criminals. I'll pass by the cruel and inhuman punishment, the iron discipline, the galling restraint, with a word: they send the prisoner out either a homicidal maniac or a broken, petty thief, stealing doormats and milk bottles, and spending his life doing short sentences in small jails.

What to do about these prisons? Again, I don't know. It would be preposterous to suggest that they be split up into smaller prisons, holding groups of two hundred or three hundred where officers of a different type could meet them more intimately and personally, and perhaps fit them for the job of living when they are discharged. Most of the inmates of the large prisons are already confirmed to a life of crime. This is a hard thing to say, but I think it's a practical thing; let us forget the confirmed criminals and turn to the raw recruits and perhaps stop these crime waves at their source. The criminals we have now will solve their own problems in ten or fifteen years; they will have been shot or hanged or buried for life or reformed. There would be another crime wave coming along if we took them all out and shot them at sunrise. If we have a crime wave ten years from now, you people can't be blamed for it, but if there's a decrease in crime the credit will be yours for you are working in the right spots, the kindergarten, the juvenile court. You won't be able to stop them all. Some will go on until confinement or restraint is necessary. But the time is coming when you will be the ones to say how and where they shall be confined or restrained. You will see to it that first offenders are not dumped into big prisons or reformatories, but into smaller places of restraint, in smaller units where they can be scientifically corrected and instructed, and not made to feel every hour of the day and night that they were born criminal and must die criminal.

You will see to it that in this restraint there will be no phrase or suggestion of that jail life that forces the delinquent to lie and cheat and steal and dissemble, to conceal and evade. You will see to it that each individual is looked over by a specialist as a doctor looks over a patient, and that the good germs are found and fed and developed and resistance is built up. You'll see to it that his keepers and instructors don't balk him for life, and beat him forever after for being balky.

There's enough good in the worst of them to save them if we but had the time to find it and foster it. I know many people who are 100 per cent right, but I don't know one who is 100 per cent wrong—and I know some bad ones, some very unpleasant types.

To my mind young offenders should roughly fall into two classes: the strong and well, the sick and weak. Let the strong and well be taught to think straight, to learn responsibility, leadership. Develop the loyalty that's in them—and then challenge it. Find occupation for them that is hazardous, dangerous, adventurous—and they'll eat it up. Let the doctors, specialists, and mental sharps treat the sick and weak. Look to their eyes, their ears, their teeth—and their glands. If a misfunctioning gland can change the sex of an individual there's no limit to what it might do to the behavior.

And let us be done with punishment, cruelty, revenge, and this tooth-for-tooth justice. Let us try treating criminals as humans. Let us try to understand, try kindness, trust, sympathy, helpfulness. Other ways have been tried and found wanting. Above all let us be more merciful. We know that many mistakes have been made in the name of justice, but not one in the name of mercy.

EDUCATION IN PENAL INSTITUTIONS

Austin H. MacCormick, Director Educational Survey, National Society of Penal Information, New York City

BEFORE a group of social workers no time need be devoted to a justification of education as a proper part of the program of penal institutions. There is need, however, for a sharper focusing of aims, a redefinition and restatement of the very vague educational and social philosophy which underlies the limited educational programs to be found today in American prisons and reformatories for adults.

If they were asked what the aim of education for prisoners is most laymen would say, "To make them better citizens," or would in some such terms limit that aim. This, indeed, is the aim often given for education in general. If by this definition, so far as prisoners are concerned, we mean turning offenders against the law into law-abiding citizens, making a plumber of a pickpocket, turning a second-story man into a building inspector, or converting the passer of bad checks into a person whom one can safely employ to paper the walls of his dining-room, we have set our aim too low. If by a better citizen we mean one to whom new ways of living, new competence not only in making a living but also in living itself in the complex social relationships of modern life, new satisfactions, new richness, new outlooks, new horizons, new standards, new concepts opened up by education we have set an aim worthy of pursuance.

Education for prisoners has too long been dominated by the moralistic estimate of its function. We cannot fairly make the reformation of the prisoner, as we commonly understand that term, the only criterion for judging its efficacy. It is true that education, broadly defined and liberally administered, is one of the most effective agencies for the rehabilitation of criminals. It is true that the man who is handicapped by insufficient education is more likely to turn to crime and to continue in crime than the man who has adequate educational training. But so long as we make every part of an educational program meet the test "Does it definitely and directly contribute to the reformation of the prisoner?" we shall limit our aims and our achievements very seriously.

Whatever, in short, tends to enrich life and to increase its durable satisfactions has its place in prison education as surely as what tends to make life more orderly and law abiding. It is as important that one man be allowed to study English literature or French as that another be given training in carpentry. We never know what bizarre, outlandish, or apparently trivial intellectual interest may lead to what we call the reform of an individual. The so-called practical subjects are not the only road to reform, nor are those which have a decided moral tinge or a definitely socializing influence. If we accept the idea that the path of education must be the path of reform, we shall have to make it a broad path, winding and rambling, with many detours and many alluring bypaths.

We shall do well not to differentiate the problem of education of prisoners too sharply from the education of adults outside of prisons. We shall do well to think of our potential student body in the penal field as a group of undereducated adults, most of them in their twenties and thirties, most of them with a large amount of enforced leisure time on their hands, some of them with a desire to better their condition, others case hardened and unresponsive, most of them inclined to demand that education be related to the practical activities of their lives, a few moved solely by intellectual curiosity or intellectual eagerness, and practically all of them certain to be dissatisfied with what they consider "kid" subjects and methods, however full of gaps their elementary education may have been. In intelligence this group of prisoners, numbering something more than 100,000 men and women in the prisons and reformatories, will roughly duplicate the army draft group. In their emotional makeup they will show a higher degree of instability and maladjustment than a group of equal size chosen at random in the free population. In vocational training they will also fall below the general population. In formal schooling about 75 per cent will have gone no farther than the sixth grade, and a considerable percentage will be virtually illiterate. But, in spite of the crimes of which they have been convicted, they will differ far less than the layman thinks from any other group of undereducated and underprivileged adults. For them educational work need not be as highly specialized as we have thought. The practice and theory of adult education can be applied far more fully than has been believed. More than anything else, however, prison education must be individualized. Skilled individual diagnosis and prescription are needed. In no part of the prison program, least of all perhaps in the education work, can mass treatment be effective.

How are we dealing with this fruitful educational field, consisting of more than a hundred thousand undereducated adults with time to devote to education? Save for a few exceptions, we are tolerating a tragic failure. There is not a single complete and well-rounded educational program in all the prisons and reformatories for adults in America. In the prisons the characteristic program consists of a grade school, seldom directed by an educational expert, taught by prisoners who have had no previous experience as teachers, confining itself to the curriculum, texts and method of schools for juveniles, handicapped by insufficient funds and by an intolerant or patronizing official attitude, using poorly adapted rooms, meeting only a few hours a week, and denied the use of the evening hours because of unwillingness to have the prisoners out of their cells after the evening lockup.

In the reformatories for men, designed for the younger and allegedly less hardened offenders, the usual program is somewhat broader, vocational education being given a conspicuous place. However, these institutions have fallen into the error of mass treatment and universal prescription and so defeat the aims of both academic and vocational training by forcing them on too large a proportion of the prisoners without consideration of interest or aptitude. The reformatories for women, imbued with a finer spirit than similar institutions for men, have been more successful than the latter in social education. Because the maintenance work of the women's institutions has vocational training value, they have also succeeded in this field to a greater extent than men's institutions. In academic schooling most of them, however, attempt to give little more than a formal middle grade education to their inmates.

In none of the three types of institutions is there any general attempt to provide for what we call cultural education: education that seeks neither to patch up deficiencies in common schooling nor to train for a vocation, but merely to meet the needs and desires of those who want to learn for learning's sake. This type of education, on which organizations promoting adult education here and in England place major emphasis, is almost totally neglected except in those institutions which are making use of university extension courses. There are many reasons for this, among others the lack of instructors competent to guide such studies, the lack of good library facilities, etc. The chief reason, however, is that cultural education has not yet attained respectability in penal institutions. It is considered too highbrow, too impractical, too unrelated to the earnest business of being reformed.

There would be little profit in a detailed discussion of what is now being done in most of our institutions. Any prison or reformatory which wishes to improve its educational work would better turn to current education practice outside the institutional field than to other institutions. The experience of a great variety of agencies now concerning themselves with the comparatively new field of adult education can also throw light on the problem of the institution. We are too prone to reject their contribution on the ground that the prisoner represents a peculiar genus, demanding a highly specialized type of education only distantly related to that which the undereducated worker in the steel mill, for example, finds interesting and valuable.

Before the organization of any new educational program in an institution, I would call on the educational authorities of the state to make a thorough survey. In some states competent experts would be found in the State Department of Education, in others in the state university, in others in the larger cities. Other agencies could be drawn in to contribute their share to the survey: the department of agriculture, the public health authorities, representatives of the state chamber of commerce or of the industrial commission, state psychologists and psychiatrists, night school and continuation school authorities, experts from corporation apprentice schools, state and city library officials, university extension officials, including those of the bureau of visual instruction, and so on through all the multitudinous fields that have a direct bearing on education for adults. There is little doubt that the services of representatives of these fields could be secured on a voluntary basis, and that a survey could be made of any institution which would outline its educational task against the background of the state itself and indicate the lines to be followed to meet the particular needs of that institution. In the all important matter of securing adequate appropriations to set up an educational program, moreover, the recommendations of an authoritative group not connected with the institution would have weight with legislators such as the authorities of the institution could never have.

The chief need to be met by appropriations is not that of adequate quarters, textbooks, etc., important as these are, but the need of a large and competent staff. An educational project involving from a thousand to four thousand adults, with widely divergent backgrounds and interests, calls for a director of unusual ability with assistants and instructors representing a wide variety of fields and possessing singular qualities of personality and professional training. Such a staff calls for a liberal salary schedule; it is here that any plan for the betterment of education in institutions runs into the cul-de-sac of legislative conservatism and skepticism. Without personnel all the educational machinery that can be set up is useless. It is probable that in any state contemplating a substantial improvement of its educational program an extensive campaign of public education will have to be carried on before funds can be secured to supply the expert personnel necessary for success.

Given a definition of its needs by an exhaustive survey and a staff competent to establish and carry out the program indicated by such a survey, what lines would the average prison or reformatory probably follow? While there is no all inclusive classification, it is probable that a well rounded educational program would cover the following fields: fundamental, vocational, health, cultural, and social education. These terms, it will be understood, are not closely definitive but are indicative of certain general fields which are fairly distinctive, although they are closely interdependent and in some cases overlapping.

Fundamental education.—For some prisoners this will mean starting from zero or from a grade so low that they will have to go through the very arduous processes that should have been completed in childhood. Fortunately, for these we have the methods of Americanization courses to follow in the teaching of reading and writing, excellent texts and visual material developed for use in these courses. This is, in fact, practically the only group of undereducated adults for whom we have well adapted textual material.

For a second group fundamental education will involve review of work which was done years before and the filling in of large gaps in elementary schooling. The man between the age of twenty and thirty who has had only a fourth or sixth grade schooling constitutes the major problem in the prison school. Few suitable texts are available in any field for his instruction; it is folly to continue, as most prison schools do, to use juvenile texts and the standard method of the grade school. It is furthermore useless to attempt to fill in all the gaps in his formal schooling; there is doubtful value in graduating even the younger prisoners from a school covering the standard eight grades. There are certain fundamental processes that we should try to cover: a prisoner of average intelligence may well be required to learn the mathematical processes that he will need in his daily life on release, to read simple English, and to write the family or business letters that he is likely to wish to write. In every case the instruction should be correlated with his real interests. Shop mathematics and the problems involved in wages, household purchases, automobile instalments, gas bills, movie tickets, fines, and taxes have reality and significance for him. Reading a newspaper or a letter or a pamphlet on oiling an automobile, repairing a radio, or raising poultry is a desirable accomplishment in his eyes. We should not hesitate to use mimeographed extracts from newspapers and similar material as texts. Accounts of such things as Lindbergh's flight obviously have other values than that of being interesting. As for writing, if we would concentrate less on teaching our prisoner pupils to write copper-plate hands and more on teaching them to say something interesting in their letters home, we should be doing them a more real service. In this connection, intensive drill in grammar, which consumes much time in many prison schools, is very largely useless drudgery.

In brief, in the field of fundamental education we need to work out a boiled-down and realistic course of study for the majority of those to whom we propose to offer an opportunity to get a minimum set of intellectual tools. We need, furthermore, to develop textual material adapted to adults who have the education of children and a technique of instruction that is suited to their mature interests. With this minimum course as a foundation we can then go on as far as the capacity and interest of the individual prisoner permits. If it can be made evident to the man who wishes to become an automobile mechanic, for example, that the rather painful rudimentary instruction which he has to undergo is directly related to his technical instruction, we can vitalize even the most deadly drudgery. I do not mean that every bit of instruction must be correlated with vocational advancement, but that it must be correlated with mature interests, that training in the fundamentals must be clearly the foundation for something an adult considers worth building.

Vocational education.—The possibilities of vocational education, the equipment and teaching personnel needed, the technique required are too well understood to require discussion here. Any institution wishing to establish a system of vocational training can find ample opportunities to observe and copy standard practice in the world outside. Skilled instructors and satisfactory textual material are available if one has money to pay for them. Expert advice is obtainable from a great many official and unofficial sources. Public approval is more easily secured for a program of vocational training than for any other type. This part of the educational program, then, does not suffer from lack of knowledge of what to do; it suffers mainly from lack of funds to supply shops, equipment, and personnel, and from the desire to keep prisoners employed in industries showing a financial profit regardless of their lack of vocational training value.

In the prison or reformatory vocational training should not be confined to trade schools. Training in the skilled trades should be given only to those who can profit by them. The great weakness of our present programs is that too large a number of prisoners are forced to go through trade school routine without sufficient interest or mechanical aptitude to make success likely. The maintenance details—cooks, bakers, clerks, firemen, garage men, plumbers, electricians, barbers, janitors, etc.—can be used successfully for vocational training. Their teaching should be correlated with any formal instruction being given in these trades and with correspondence or university extension courses being offered. It is probable that most prisoners over the age of twenty will make better progress when taught while carrying on actual work than in trade school classes; for all ages the latter must be supplemented by practical working experience.

To give training to the large number of prisoners who will go into industry as machine operators after release we must rely on the industries of the institution. They should offer a wide variety of skilled and semiskilled operations and should match the production, standards and pace of outside industries. They should be operated with as much emphasis on training as on profitable production; the two can go hand in hand under proper direction. The present industrial situation in our institutions, from this standpoint, is very discouraging. There are not enough industries to keep all the prisoners employed and many of them are of such type or are so operated that they have very little training value. Before full use can be made of industries for purposes of instruction, we shall have to secure a complete industrial reorganization in most institutions for men. Nothing is more difficult to bring about in the penal field.

For the remaining prisoners, those who will never rise above the level of low grade manual labor, we can only hope that in the work of the institution they can be influenced to acquire habits of industry that will carry over into their life after release.

One opportunity to give valuable training is worthy of special comment. In the farms, gardens, dairies, piggeries, and poultry plants which most institutions operate there is one of our best opportunities for instruction in useful and interesting occupations. Here we can make use of the state department of agriculture and the state university, of county extension agents, of federal and state bulletins, of correspondence and extension courses, and a variety of other outside aids. No institutional detail offers a better chance for combined work and study.

Health education.—Not only should physical defects in prisoners be attended to by corrective surgery and corrective exercises, but an effort should be made to raise the standard of living and to teach the fundamental principles and practices of healthful living. Home sanitation, care of the teeth and eyes, proper eating and sleeping, proper sex life, etc., can probably best be taught by lectures and by visual instruction. By securing the services of experts in the field of private medicine or public health for a series of illustrated lectures and making use of the excellent material available through the United States Public Health Service and similar state organizations, this type of instruction can be made interesting and effective. There should be in every institution, moreover, a skilled director of physical education capable of setting up a diversified program of indoor and outdoor exercise. The programs of cantonments during the war, of city Y.M.C.A.'s, and of large corporations now promoting physical education for their employees suggest many ideas in this field, as do colleges and universities.

Cultural education.—It is plain that only a small percentage of the inmates of any institution will be interested in learning for learning's sake, or in pursuing courses of study that bear no relation to their vocational interests. However, even though the group be small, it is worthy of definite and thorough attention. The first requisite for this group is a good library, which very few institutions have, unfortunately. If the privileges of the state library are extended to the prisoners, as in Wisconsin, this difficulty can be met. But desultory and undirected reading is likely to prove profitable only for those who have had a large amount of education. The prison librarian should be a person capable of planning individual courses of reading, and there should be some person on the staff, highbrow as the suggestion may sound, who can serve in the capacity of an Oxford don. There might well be, as at Rollins College, a professor of books.

For the group seeking cultural education university extension courses are particularly well adapted. Except for its superior numbers, however, there will always be need of local follow up and assistance in these courses. There should be, whenever possible, small conference groups of men who are studying the same subjects in charge of instructors competent to illuminate the bare material of the written course and to make sure that the significance of reading assignments has been grasped. Correspondence instruction needs always to be supplemented by person-to-person instruction, if for no other reason than that it is a rare person who keeps up his interest in a course of study pursued entirely by himself.

Lectures should be provided for this group. Here, again, it is necessary to draw on outside agencies. One should not fear to provide a great variety covering some fields that seem far from the normal interests of the prison inmate. Varied lectures may have the effect of the survey courses now given in the first two years of many colleges: they may open up new fields of interest and lead to satisfying and profitable reading or study in fields of whose existence the prisoner was hardly aware.

Social education.—The function of the whole prison program is social education and must be given in the shop and cellhouse, on the recreation field and the farm, as well as in the classroom and library. How far we can go in teaching prisoners to assume their proper relation to the social group by formal instruction is a matter for long discussion. There are unquestionably subjects in the field of the social sciences that give any individual a more thorough comprehension of his fellow man and of his own relation to the social scheme. History, economics, sociology, government, all have definite socializing value, but their content will have to be put into texts and lectures adapted to the man of limited education before they can be used effectively with the major part of our penal population. It is probable that simple illustrated lectures will work most effectively with the prisoners as a whole, with definite courses and reading outlines for the selected few.

Such activities as community singing, dramatics, and athletics have a socializing influence which should be capitalized more whole-heartedly than at present in prisons. The fear of public criticism has stood too long in the way of these wholesome group activities.

Far more difficult to set up than any of the foregoing is the social education that must come in the day-by-day life of the institution. Here the important element is one of personnel. The shop or farm foreman should be more than a technical instructor, the cellhouse keeper more than a watchman. These men, who come hourly in contact with the prisoners, must be men who can give their charges, largely perhaps by indirection, training in living as members of a social group. That this calls for a rare combination of personality, character, and training goes without saying. But where, one may ask, are such men needed more than in the prison? More men, I dare say, are made good citizens by contact with an exceptional guard or foreman, often a man of limited intelligence, than by all the formal instruction and all the chapel exercises of a five year sentence. This may be discouraging to those of us who are formalists, but it is only recognition of the powerful influence that one individual has on another in the daily contacts of life, in prison or out.

Most important of all, finally, in the process of social education is the granting of opportunity to learn the duties and responsibilities of group living by practicing them under skilled and sympathetic guidance. I know of nothing that can better give this opportunity to prisoners than some such system of inmate community organization as Thomas Mott Osborne established in three large prisons, in two of which it is still in operation after a decade and a half of continuous existence. Its basic philosophy, that men learn to do by doing, that they learn the lessons of a larger citizenship by practicing citizenship in the more circumscribed community life of the prison, is in accord with sound educational and social philosophy. I have seen an inmate community organization, moreover, give vitality to every phase of a diversified program of education and make its members more responsive to the opportunities of education and to every other regenerative enterprise carried on in the prison. I have seen prisoners look on education as their project, not the offering of a benevolent paternalism, and have seen something of the fervor of an educational renaissance sweep over a prison. Not all the elaborate machinery that we can set up with ample funds and expert direction can actually educate unless the prisoners will it to; when they are stirred by a sense of responsibility, a feeling that the program of the prison is in a large sense their program, a desire to make worth while projects go because they are their projects, then even the most formal instruction in the three R's can become a part of their social education.

In this paper I have done no more than indicate lines of practice that may be followed and open some matters for consideration. In conclusion I wish only to reiterate a few points: that we should think of education in penal institutions as primarily a problem involving undereducated adults, with only secondary stress on the fact that they are prisoners; that we should seek the solution of the problem in standard educational practice rather than in some new and strange formula to which we do not yet hold the key; that we should be liberal in our decisions as to what has its place in the penal education problem; and that we should try to make available to every prisoner that measure of education and that type of education which his capacity and his interest demand. I am no believer in education as the one panacea for curing crime, but I have profound belief in the efficacy of educational work that has high aims, that is organized in accordance with sound practice, and that is directed with sympathy and intelligence.

THE SCHOOL AND DELINQUENCY: EVERY SCHOOL A CLINIC

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WORKMEN everywhere welcome new and better tools. Those of us who work with children in the schools have hailed with hope and acclaimed with enthusiasm, one after another, a succession of promising cures for the difficulties which school children and youths manifest. We have grown increasingly aware of the number and complexity of these difficulties: retardation in school, inability or apparent unwillingness to master certain subjects of the school curriculum, truancy, revolt from authority, contempt for schools and school teachers, restlessness and lack of interest, fighting, stealing, lying, obscene note writing, and general deviltry.

The remedies proposed and tried are legion. Hookey cops have been succeeded by attendance departments, with a trained personnel. Health departments attempt to find and persuade parents to remedy those physical defects which militate against regular attendance and working ability. Mental and achievement tests result in the separation of children into ability groups, sometimes with, but oftener without, a real differentiation in subject matter and methods for children of different learning rates and abilities. And now we have clinics for the mental, physical, and social study of children who become school or community problems. What may we hope from these?

Now that child guidance clinics under private grants, community chests, or boards of education have been operating for several years in numbers of our communities, it is possible to take stock and consider their assets and liabilities. First, let us consider the assets. The personnel of the clinics has been carefully chosen. The staffs include as members or consultants men and women who are specialists in the fields of psychology, psychiatry, pediatrics, and social work. These specialists are absorbingly interested in the problems presented to them. Promising people are now preparing themselves for such work.

Most of these clinics take the time necessary for an adequate consideration of each case. This must include, of course, an investigation of the child's home, school, and associates as they have affected his physical, intellectual, and emotional life. In the clinics financed by private funds or community chests, days or weeks of study usually precede the staff conference in which all the workers on the case participate. Provision for following the case until adjustment is made or the case closed is a routine part of most child guidance clinic programs.

The dignity of the organization, the scientific program of procedure, and the reputation of the specialists concerned lend a prestige to the clinic which is extremely helpful in two ways: first, in inducing parents and teachers to send a child to the clinic; second, in securing their cooperation in carrying out the treatment recommended.

The clinics are bringing to the fore the vital connection between conduct and all those influences which make up the child's environment. They are demonstrating the impossibility of considering a school misdemeanor or failure apart from all the subtle influences which the family and community supply. They are taking the family into the school, the school into the family, and making each alive to their interdependence.

Now as to the liabilities. They are few. Possibly they can be subsumed under one category: shifting responsibility. Possibly the weaknesses and dangers which we shall now discuss should not be called liabilities of the clinic, but rather weaknesses inherent in human nature and ignorance due to our faulty education. But we must recognize and attempt to deal with several dangers to which the clinics are contributing.

First, this new possibility of sending a problem child to a guidance clinic arouses and fixes in the minds of many teachers, parents, and social workers (less often in the child himself) the idea that the case is pathological.

Just as we now send to juvenile courts, as incorrigible, children whose misdemeanors (such as stealing watermelons, cutting school, refusing to obey) would have been taken lightly and settled at home or in the school itself, in the days of our own childhood, so now we sometimes send to the clinics, as serious problems, children whose behavior is the natural and inevitable result of the conditions we have made for them and which we ourselves could and should correct. We wish to believe that conduct which annoys is pathological, and that the clinic has a magic medicine for the disorder. There is a tendency to regard a child who has been either in court or clinic as an abnormal child, whose every act is to be watched, and who is likely to be responsible for any unusual and undesirable happening in his school or community group. He is often a target for suspicion and blame. Teachers, relatives, friends, even social workers tend to believe that there must be an organic basis for his difficulties, that he is skewed, born wrong, with a weak or diseased nervous system.

The technical terms sometimes used in the interviews and discussions further this notion. "Normal" and "abnormal" loom large as real entities in the minds of all lay persons and of some technically trained ones. Few are aware that we do not yet, for the most part, know the normal from the abnormal in the field of behavior. We all love high sounding words. Teachers and social workers roll them under their tongues and suck their sweetness. "Oedipus complex," "infantile fixation," "obsessional neurosis," "sadistic," "schizoid" are legitimate and necessary terms for technical use, but are dangerous, if not harmful, playthings in the mouths of lay workers. They are dust in the eyes of the uninitiated, though soothing to teacher or social worker who has had a university course or two in abnormal psychology or mental hygiene, lulling him into a comfortable sense of erudition and security. Labels are not cures. They are not always even correct names for the contents of the bottles we are handling. University courses or clinic conferences which give teachers a small technical vocabulary, a superficial knowledge of abnormal psychology, and a belief that trained clinic workers alone possess an esoteric wisdom and technique in the handling of behavior problems sometimes provide a genuine handicap for teachers and their charges.

The most serious danger of the guidance clinics, and one to which they are themselves keenly alive, is the tendency of teachers, relatives, and social workers to absolve themselves from responsibility when they have brought a child to the clinic for diagnosis and treatment.

These liabilities are trivial in comparison with the assets. The clinics can meet these difficulties if they are alive to them, and many are now seeking to do just this thing.

The title of this paper, "Every School a Clinic," is an ambitious one, and may be misleading. That there be no possibility of misunderstanding, let us hasten to make clear that we are not cherishing a hope or belief that teachers and school officials can be also technical psychiatrists, psychologists, or pediatricians. They will come, we hope, to look always to those specialists for expert help and guidance in certain cases. But unless the clinics teach them the essentials of the genesis of human behavior and their own power and responsibility in modifying it, they will make little headway in improving the mental health of our vast armies of school children and their suffering teachers, relatives, and friends.

A clinic is a place where diagnosis and treatment are provided for the ailing. Clinics for the diagnosis and treatment of the adjustment difficulties of school children—children who steal lead pencils and lunches and tell lies, children who fight, play truant, and fail to hand in their written work, children who are impudent and fail to recognize the omniscience and dignity of their teachers, children who are discouraged and on the defensive—such clinics are and will always be far too few among us.

But even if they were adequate in numbers and personnel to deal with every case needing their care, they could never do the job alone. Expert surgery and medication cannot prevail against disease without skilful nursing, and the doctor's orders must be carried out in a lengthy program of after care and daily hygiene if health is to be restored. The new methods have not and cannot relieve the teacher (nor the parent) of the urgent necessity of understanding, patient care of the child whose attitudes have developed into unwholesome behavior.

Not only must teachers be willing and able to carry out treatment which has been outlined by the clinic, or by the visiting teacher, but they must be rendered able and willing themselves to work out the causes and deal intelligently with the great majority of their own adjustment problems. Many teachers are already doing this. We shall not help those who are not, by vituperation against all teachers or by conservation of the fiction, current in many social agencies and elsewhere, that all school principals are arrogant spanking machines and all school teachers irritable drill masters. We cannot help anyone whom we do not like.

The extension of the clinic idea and of essential parts of its technique into the schools is on its way. Alfred Adler, who has established clinics in many of the schools of Vienna, tells us that it is not uncommon for him to go to one of these centers only to find that already the contacts have been made with parents and others concerned in the cases under consideration, the essential information collected, and the proper treatment planned and under way. He has taught the masters and teachers to do these things and they are demonstrating their ability to do them. This experience can be duplicated in many places. In the schools with which I am most familiar, those of Los Angeles, this movement is under way. In several of our high schools, conferences are held on problem cases in the office of the principal or of the counselor. There are present usually the principal, the vice-principal, the counselor, the physician, the psychologist, and the teachers concerned with the pupil in question. Reports of the findings and impressions of each are given and discussed. The counselor has established contact with the home people and, often, with others both outside of and within the school who are vital to the understanding and treatment of the case. Every member of the conferring group sees himself as a responsible agent in helping the child to a wholesome adjustment.

Such conferences are far too few. In most of our schools they are still unknown. But the start has been made and the movement is gaining, and there is even some danger that the avid desire to be in the fashion, to have the school appear in the forefront of progress, will lead to abortive attempts to do this thing in schools where properly trained leadership is not yet available. We are still pitiably mob minded, and prone to mistake the shadow for the substance.

An interesting instance of a method of giving teachers a sympathetic insight into the behavior problems of children recently occurred in one of our high schools. The girls' vice-principal invited a group of her teachers to meet at four o'clock to participate in a discussion of the problems of one of their pupils. It had been arranged that a psychologist from the school department of research should be present to analyze and summarize the case and suggest treatment. The teachers' response was cordial, but when the vice-principal named the girl whose case was to be discussed there were exclamations of surprise in all quarters: "Why, what has *she* done? I didn't know *she* was a problem! She's an A student in my class. She's the best behaved girl in school—regular mouse!"

The vice-principal agreed that she was a mouse, that she had disobeyed no rule of school or community, and that her scholarship was exceptionally good. Nevertheless, she insisted that this was the case she wanted discussed, and an interested group of twelve teachers assembled at the appointed hour.

The vice-principal opened the conference by reading a letter written her by the girl's mother a week previous. It was a long wail, complaining that her little girl had no friends at school. Why did the others not make friends with her? She studied hard and she was always good, yet she was so lonely she often cried. She was never elected to offices and she was beginning to wonder what was the use of being good, because recently a girl who was known by the whole school to have played truant deliberately had been elected to the Girls' Council! She tried, the mother said, to get her little girl to go to school parties, but the child didn't want to go and leave her alone. They were both very unhappy. Couldn't the vice-principal do something about it?

One after another the teachers told what they knew of Vivian. They were unanimous concerning her good scholarship and her good behavior. Most thought her attractive, good looking, graceful. She was not badly dressed. They had not observed that she had no friends. They had never thought of her as a problem in any sense. Then came the counselor's report. The girl's intelligence quotient was 117. Her marks were all A's and B's. In personality she was pleasing. She talked of herself with apparent openness, saying that she rarely left her mother in the afternoons or evenings, and never on week ends because she couldn't bear to leave her alone.

The counselor talked with Vivian about her summer plans and painted the fun and advantages of the Y.W.C.A. camp in glowing colors. Vivian showed mild enthusiasm, but thought it would be cruel to leave her mother. The first interview ended with a tentative agreement on Vivian's part to go to camp but only if arrangements could be made for her mother's happiness while she was gone.

The mother's story of her own life was significant. She had been left an orphan early and had been educated in a convent. At eighteen, an uncle arranged her marriage with an older man, an Englishman, whom she knew but slightly. He represented protection and care to her, and he took her to England. She was not physically attracted to him, had never been so attracted to any man, and found married life difficult and distasteful. When she became pregnant she insisted that they come back to America, so that the child might be born here. Her husband refused, so she came alone. He sent her funds regularly, and still does after sixteen years. There has never been a divorce. The mother clings to Vivian with desperate, devastating devotion. She maintains that she tries to get Vivian to cultivate other friends, to go to parties and other forms of amusement. But it is all too obvious that she projects her own starved needs upon the child at every turn. Vivian seems unable to get along without her, she says, and cannot be persuaded to leave her.

The counselor starts the process of making the mother aware of the situation and of Vivian's critical need of mental and emotional weaning. The mother is defensive, but appears finally to get the idea. She promises to try to induce Vivian to go to camp; arrangements are made; Vivian somewhat doubtfully signs us for camp; and then the mother breaks her arm!

Time does not permit, nor our purpose here necessitate, an account of the numerous interviews with both girl and mother, nor of the various aspects of the treatment accorded. The father's part is not to be neglected, and his daughter's need of knowing him and feeling the security and fulfilment which an acquaintance with him might provide must be considered. Up to the present the mother has been unwilling to allow him any share in her love for this child. The treatment has, obviously, only just begun.

We present this case to illustrate a point which we believe vital to our topic, namely, the fact that emotional problems of immeasurable importance lie close to every teacher, often totally unsuspected, and that teachers must be trained to see and deal with these problems.

Our big problem is to change the viewpoint of the teaching profession toward the goals of education. Our children will remember relatively little of the textbook or other information which the schools teach. The attitudes toward life, toward authority, toward honor, toward personal responsibility, toward happiness and beauty built up in their daily school life will be ingrained in their nervous systems. This is biological memory, and its curve of forgetting has never yet been plotted. To extend to all teachers a knowledge of the sources of attitudes, and to include in the teaching force only those men and women who see their task as the forming and maintaining of wholesome attitudes in themselves and in their children, this is the great challenge to our teacher training institutions and our school administrators. We look to the clinics and to the social workers to help make this challenge compelling, and so usher in a better order.

GONORRHEA AND SYPHILIS—THE BIGGEST SINGLE PROBLEM IN THE HEALTH, WELFARE, AND COMMUNITY PROGRAM

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THE EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

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THE prevalence of gonorrhea and syphilis may be expressed in several different ways, and this fact no less than the absence of dependable data has been responsible for much of the confusion in the public mind on this subject. One may refer to the cases which exist at any one time, to the annual attack rates of new cases, to the percentage of the population which has or has had an infection, and to the proportion of these diseases to other illness. Obviously, each of these considerations may be subdivided in respect to age, sex, stage of the disease, color, occupation, or otherwise.

There are sources of error in any attempt to determine the rates in accordance with either of the foregoing methods. With these sources of error constantly in mind, an attempt has been made to determine various rates on the basis of clinically recognized cases so that the results, although perhaps understating the facts, have a certain value not inherent in estimates. When one tries to translate the known cases into terms of economic loss, however, it becomes necessary to utilize the best available opinions in the absence of dependable facts.

Prevalence of gonorrhea and syphilis.—The difficulties to be overcome have until recently prevented any serious attempt to determined the prevalence of gonorrhea and syphilis in the general population. It is likely that we will never know with accuracy the full extent of these diseases. The same is true, however, of many other diseases and should not discourage attempts to ascertain by all means available the prevalence, distribution, and trend of new infections of syphilis and gonorrhea, since this information is basic as a guide to intelligent control efforts and as a measure of their effect.

The Public Health Service, with the cooperation of the American Social Hygiene Association and of state and local public health and medical organizations, has devoted considerable effort in recent years to this problem. A number of methods have been followed. The most important has been a series of prevalence studies carried out in communities with a total population of more than 15,500,000, located in various parts of the United States, and representative of the population as a whole. In these communities statements were secured from practically every physician, hospital, clinic, and other institution in which syphilis and gonorrhea might be treated as to the total number of cases under active observation or treatment on a given date. From these studies considerable new information is available as to the extent and distribution of these infections. In certain communities additional information was secured as to the total number of new cases which come to treatment for the first time during a one-month period. These data by no means represent all of the cases which exist in the communities. For every case of syphilis and gonorrhea under treatment there are an unknown number of others equally in need of treatment.

Assuming that the prevalence of the venereal diseases is the same in the whole country as in the selected communities in which 16,880 physicians and 815 clinics and other institutions, serving a population of 15,500,000 people, reported the number of cases of syphilis and gonorrhea under treatment, there are in the whole country 643,000 cases of syphilis and 474,000 cases of gonorrhea constantly under medical care. Twenty-four per cent of the cases probably are indigent patients since they are being treated at public expense in clinics, hospitals, or other institutions.

The remaining 76 per cent are being treated by physicians as private patients. Fifteen per cent of the cases of gonorrhea and 36 per cent of the cases of syphilis are treated in public clinics. As would be expected syphilis, being a more expensive disease to treat, contributes the larger percentage of public clinic patients, and particularly the late stages of syphilis.

The combined case rate for gonorrhea and syphilis for the male population was found to be about twice as high as that of the female, the rates being 9.28 and 4.74 per thousand, respectively. The difference was more pronounced for gonorrhea than for syphilis. This difference in clinically recognized cases may be more apparent than real because of the difference in the anatomy of the two sexes. In the female the initial lesion of syphilis often is not recognized, and in gonorrhea a discharge is not so likely to cause a woman to seek treatment.

In those communities under survey where Negroes form a significant part of the population the prevalence data were collected separately for the two races. The combined case rate for these communities was 8 per thousand for the white population and 11 per thousand for the colored population. The difference in rates is especially marked for syphilis—4 per thousand for the white, and 7 per thousand for the colored. These findings also are in accord with previously available knowledge as to the greater prevalence of syphilis among Negroes.

Studies of the Public Health Service a number of years ago furnish accurate information as to the age incidence of the venereal diseases. Applying the rates found on the prevalence studies to these different age groups, it appears that of those cases under treatment the peak age group for both gonorrhea and syphilis is from twenty to twenty-four years, the rate per thousand population being 13 cases for gonorrhea and 10 for syphilis.

In addition to these data there is much fragmentary information as to the prevalence of these diseases among special groups. A recitation of some of this information may help to visualize more clearly the real importance of this problem. Negroes constitute nearly 10 per cent of the total population of this country.

It has long been known that syphilis is prevalent among urban Negroes, Wassermann surveys showing approximately 20 per cent positive. Evidence now is available concerning a similarly high prevalence among rural Negroes. In a group of 2,300 Negroes in a southern state 24 per cent of the population of more than one year of age showed a positive Wassermann reaction.

In the United States navy, venereal diseases attack 132.27 per thousand of the total personnel each year, and in the army the rate is 49.73. Among the second million men drafted during the World War, 5.6 per cent were found by a casual clinical examination to have a venereal disease. Nor are women exempt. An average of all published reports shows that of women admitted to maternity hospitals 6.9 per cent have a positive Wassermann reaction. While a positive Wassermann reaction for practical purposes means the presence of syphilis, a negative reaction does not mean its absence. Here is a disease which is cured only after prolonged and expensive treatment, if at all; which terminates in general paralysis in from 2 to 5 per cent of all cases, and in some instances in spite of the best treatment; which contributes 8,700 deaths annually in mental institutions from this one complication alone; which is a factor in an estimated 45 per cent of all deaths from heart disease; which, according to the best authorities, cuts in half the life expectancy of its average victim, or, expressed differently, which shortens by eighteen years the patient's life; which causes a considerable percentage of all stillbirths; which pads the compensation payments in industry; which more than occasionally is directly responsible for industrial accidents; which contributes 10 per cent of the admissions to our insane institutions; and which leaves in its wake wrecked homes, blasted hopes, diseased progeny, and a train of other social disasters with which you, as a profession, are intimately acquainted.

Gonorrhea is a disease occurring several times as frequently as syphilis; one which in the individual case is less serious but in the aggregate competes with syphilis in the extent of its economic and social effects. Dependable data for gonorrhea are less available than for syphilis because of the mild character of many cases and because of the difficulty, particularly in the female, of diagnosing all except acute cases. It is known, however, that gonorrhea is responsible for from 55 to 60 per cent of ophthalmia neonatorum; that blindness on account of Neisserian infection represents 3 per cent of all the blindness in this country; that a considerable but unknown percentage of pelvic infections in women are gonococcal in origin; that many cases of "one child sterility" are due to this cause; that this disease may cause a severe arthritis and even endocarditis and death; that gonorrheal vulvovaginitis is a serious and prevalent disease among young female children. Data as to the remote effects of gonorrhea, including deaths which are undoubtedly caused by it, are too fragmentary to warrant a definite statement on this score.

Annual attack rate.—In one city of the United States with a population of 2,000,000 inhabitants, information was collected not only as to the cases which are constantly under medical care but as to the new cases of syphilis and gonorrhea during a one-month period which had not previously received treatment. Assuming that the rates in this city would be similar to those for the country as a whole, we would have in the continental United States 423,000 new cases of syphilis which seek treatment during the early stage (the first year) of the disease, and likewise 679,000 new cases of gonorrhea each year which come under medical care during the first three months of the infection. This incidence represents an annual attack rate per thousand population of 3.46 for syphilis and 5.71 for gonorrhea. This annual attack rate for early syphilis for the males is 4.42 and for the females 2.37; for acute gonorrhea, males 8.56 and females 2.65. By basing the total incidence of venereal disease on the early cases of syphilis and the acute cases of gonorrhea, it is believed that we can assume that these are the minimum number of persons who have been infected in a year. The peak age group at which the infection occurs is from twenty to twenty-four years, at which time 13 males and 7 females per thousand are infected per annum. In the case of gonorrhea in the acute stage, the annual attack rate in the 20–

24 age group for the males is 30.31 as compared with the female attack rate in the same age group of 8.60 per thousand population.

Percentage of population in different age groups which has been infected.—Applying the experience of four southern states and Indiana as to the age of onset of the disease, we would have of 1,000 males born, by the time they had reached the age of forty years of age, 254 per thousand infected with syphilis. This rate includes only those who sought treatment during the first stage of the disease. We would also have of 1,000 females born 131 per thousand infected by the age of forty years.

Although the figures refer to the population of the United States as a whole, a great variation has been found in the prevalence of these diseases in different communities. Very consistently the cases under treatment in cities are several times as numerous in relation to the population as in the rural districts. This seems true, even though the factor of migration of patients from rural to urban centers is taken into consideration.

Comparative prevalence of venereal and other diseases.—On this score evidence is less complete since the exact prevalence of many other diseases also is not known. Judged by the number of case reports which are made each year to the Public Health Service from the several state health departments, the venereal diseases as a group far outnumber all other reported infections except in times of an influenza epidemic. Syphilis stands first or second among the most frequently reported infections. Cases of measles, reports of which are only fragmentary, are reported in about the same number as syphilis. Gonorrhea stands about fifth as a reported cause of infectious illness. The experience in the military forces of this and other countries in peace and in war time shows the venereal diseases to exceed any other condition as a cause of non-effectiveness. In the hospitals of the Public Health Service the venereal diseases constitute approximately 20 per cent of the total case load. The bulk of the patients in these hospitals are merchant seamen (adult males), so that this figure would not be representative of the population as a whole.

It is estimated that from 2 to 5 per cent of the cases of syphilis develop general paresis. This one complication constitutes 10 per cent of the admissions to insane institutions. The total deaths caused by this disease are not known since other causes such as cerebral hemorrhage, heart disease, or other cause frequently are recorded although the basic factor may be syphilitic in nature.

Economic loss.—Losses which result from these two diseases may be computed in respect to loss of earning power through incapacity (partial and total), to cost of medical and hospital care, and to economic loss resulting from the shortened life span.

It is recognized that many cases of gonorrhea and some cases of syphilis will occur in which no actual loss in time from the patient's occupation will be experienced. Accurate data as to this are available from the military forces. For each thousand enlisted men and officers of the army and navy there is an annual "non-effective rate" for syphilis of 2.43 per thousand, and for gonorrhea of 5.18 per thousand. These figures represent a percentage of the cases which become disabled, and do not take into account the additional cases which are given adequate treatment and which are able to continue on duty. If the loss in the general male population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five in non-effective days (illness) resulting from venereal diseases is estimated on the attack rate for this group, the number of non-effective days would approximate 21,000,000. Assuming an arbitrary value of $4.00 as the average daily earnings, the financial loss would be $84,000,000.00 per annum, or a loss of a half-day for each of the male population between the ages fifteen and forty-five. An estimate can be made of the disability resulting from gonorrhea and syphilis in the female by assuming that one-half of the women are gainfully employed, and apply the known ratio of male to female cases (2 to 1). On this basis the loss of wages on account of these infections in the female is $21,000,000.00.

As a basis for the estimate of the cost of medical care of these diseases, let us assume that the cost per treatment in public clinics is for gonorrhea $1.00 and for syphilis $2.00 (including medicines and diagnosis), and in private practice the average cost of treatment $4.00 and $8.00, respectively. Applying these rates, it is found that there is expended annually $150,000,000.00 in the medical care of ambulatory patients of the venereal diseases. This estimate assumes 8 treatments per case of gonorrhea and 22 treatments per case of syphilis, and divides the percentage of cases between private practice and clinic cases in accordance with the findings of the prevalence studies. No reliable data as to the cost of hospitalization of venereal disease patients are available except for cases of general paresis and tabes dorsalis in special institutions. It may be interesting, however, to cite the experience of the Public Health Service. Since 1873 in the marine hospitals approximately 20 per cent of the total case load and hospital days have been on account of the venereal diseases, representing a present annual cost to the government of approximately $1,000,000.00 for this one small group. General paresis and syphilis of the central nervous system are responsible for constant institutional care of 12,300 persons. Of these patients 8,700 die each year after having received an average of fourteen months' hospitalization. At a $2.50 per day hospital rate the annual cost of hospitalizing the 12,300 cases of general paresis and syphilis of the nervous system is $11,270,000.00.

Loss due to shortened life span will be considered only as regards syphilis. Here again we have more accurate data concerning general paresis than we have of the whole syphilis problem. If the 8,700 persons who die annually from this cause had been allowed to complete their normal life expectancy, the economic value of their lives (excess of savings over upkeep) would represent the annual sum of $74,000,000.00 (estimate based on Metropolitan Life Insurance Company computation as to the net value of each year of life of a man earning an average income of $2,500.00 per annum after reaching 18 years of age). Various estimates have been made as to the syphilitic factor in deaths which are recorded from heart disease and from various other recorded causes. The most generally accepted of these estimates is that each case of syphilis on the average cuts in half the life expectancy of its victim. On this basis the annual loss in years of life of the population of this country as a result of all syphilitic infections is estimated at 7,700,000. This represents for the age groups involved approximately $1,300,000,000.00 annually. This estimate is based on the number of persons in each age group who contract syphilis each year and come under medical care during the first year of this disease, together with the life expectancy of these age groups.

It has frequently been stated that the greatest tax borne by the community is that unseen, but none the less real, tax on account of sickness and ill health. If the foregoing estimates as to the cost to the country of certain aspects of the venereal diseases are accepted, we find that the per capita loss on account of these infections amounts in terms of each inhabitant to $1.05 loss in wages, $1.25 in cost of medical care, and $10.80 economic loss on account of shortened life-span, or a total of $13.00 per capita annual tax on account of these two preventable diseases.

THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

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WHAT I shall present for your discussion on the solution of this important problem will be advanced from the point of view of preventive medicine. By this I mean that every measure advanced should be considered with the single purpose of eradicating or controlling these dangerous communicable diseases. After agreement is reached upon all the effective steps in a program, we may review each of these steps with reference to its practicability and expediency, and with regard to possible conflicts with policies or measures in other fields of social and moral welfare. I submit this proposal because so many discussions of the subject start from false premises or biased points of view and never reach a common ground of full understanding.

I have grouped the outstanding measures for solving the problem, under the following heads: measures for the location and control of sources and carriers of infection; measures for reduction in the number of contacts and in the liability of infection developing after exposure; measures for elimination of environmental and other conditions favorable to transmission of the spirochete and gonococcus; measures for promotion through character building agencies and influence of knowledge and control of sex as a factor in human life.

The scientific facts bearing on the first group both simplify and complicate the selection of effective measures. For example, practically all infections occur from direct contact, and we have no general sources of infection with which to contend as we have in many other diseases. On the other hand, practically all infected persons are carriers at some stage of their infection, and many of them are infectious for long periods of time without any manifestation of ill health to call attention to their condition. First, we must discover cases. This demands efficient and well-trained physicians and technicians for clinical and laboratory diagnostic work. Second, we must adequately treat the cases discovered. This requires physician's office, clinic, and hospital facilities comprising extensive and expensive equipment and personnel. Third, we must get in touch with persons having intimate contact with the cases discovered. This also requires exceptionally trained and resourceful personnel which must be drawn largely from the professional ranks of nursing and social work. To these fundamental routine procedures there must be added at least two others adapted to the particular scientific and sociological facts relating to the diseases under discussion. Fourth, early sterilization of infectious cases must be considered with due regard to the interests of both patient and public. Fifth, isolation or quarantine of those cases which cannot be rendered non-infectious must be carried out to the extent necessary to insure protection of the public health.

This first group of measures would present comparatively little difficulty if the circumstances of infection did not involve questions of sex delinquency; prolonged periods of infectiousness without painful illness or incapacity of the persons infected; and great expense for treatment and follow up supervision until cure may be reasonably assured.

Having set in operation every measure which may be devised on the basis of our present knowledge regarding diagnosis, treatment, and follow up of individuals already infected, there remain certain things we may attempt to protect those who have been exposed but in whom infection may not as yet have developed, and other activities we may undertake to reduce the number of contacts of susceptible persons with infectious cases. The most successful of these measures is the disinfection of the eyes of newborn babies to prevent gonorrheal ophthalmia. A similar measure equally sound scientifically but greatly limited in practice because of administrative difficulties is chemical disinfection of adults after exposure. Of unmeasurable but undoubtedly great value are the varied programs of public information regarding the nature and spread of the venereal diseases, and the application of this knowledge by the individual citizen to his or her own protection from infection. The special instruction of infected persons concerning the protection of others from contact with them is vitally important. The most appealing of the latter class is the unborn child. President Wilbur in his address to the American Medical Association said that if we could protect the child during prenatal life from infection with syphilis we would soon replace the loss of life from the World War. Programs of maternal and child health and welfare demand incorporation of adequate social hygiene measures. Experience and analogy show that painstaking and effective efforts to make infected persons fully understand their condition and how they may protect others yield very large returns.

Activities concerned with the immediate problems of discovery and control of infected persons, and of treatment and protection of persons exposed or in danger of exposure through intimate contact, may be supplemented by many more general measures which collectively will have an important influence upon lowering the morbidity rates for venereal diseases.

One group of such measures has to do with the elimination of environmental and other conditions favorable to the transmission of the venereal diseases. First among these I would place facilities for wholesome recreation and use of leisure time. The remarkable story of what was done by the public for army and navy men during the war is too fresh in our minds to make any elaboration of this item necessary for the present purpose. The second type of activities in this group have been called protective measures. Here we have a wide range of efforts between the time when a boy or girl begins to be "wayward," or to drift toward sex delinquency, and the time when society through its police and law officers takes custodial charge of them. These protective measures are in turn succeeded by, third, more formal legal measures. These measures are primarily of value in combating the third-party exploiters of women and men who are drawn into the commerce of prostitution. When left unmolested commercialized vice insidiously reaches out into the homes and lives of all parts of the population; and in so doing provides the greatest opportunities for dissemination of the diseases under discussion. As a fourth measure in this group custodial care of defectives is important. Time will not permit comment on this item, but it should be remarked in passing that the proposal so frequently made to sterilize these cases will do nothing to prevent transmission of venereal diseases, although it may accomplish a great deal through reducing the number of defectives in succeeding generations. In this group should be included, fifth, general measures for combating sex exciting influences and antisocial appeals to sex. A multiplicity of activities by a wide range of agencies come under this heading, and collectively are of great importance.

Finally, in these groupings of measures calculated to aid in solving this problem, high value should be placed upon the promotion through character building agencies of knowledge and control of sex as a factor in human life. The home stands first among these agencies and influences. The school is a close second, and the church is the third of these great permanent institutions in a position to affect profoundly people of all ages in their views and conduct in regard to sex life. Scouting and analogous agencies are a fourth great influence incorporating social hygiene activities in their programs with great effect.

Last, in this group I would suggest the importance of family consultation clinics. We have learned from our juvenile courts, domestic relations courts, and other institutions that much may be done to remedy situations in family life, which are indirectly a great factor in sex delinquency. There is evidence that preventive work may be done in this field with advantage just as preventive medicine measures precede curative measures in medicine.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF MEDICAL CARE

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THE COST OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND MEDICAL WORK

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"THE one great outstanding problem before the medical profession today," according to Dr. Olin West of the American Medical Association, "is that involved in the delivery of adequate scientific medical service to all the people, rich and poor, at a cost which can reasonably be met by them in their respective stations of life." Even the most cursory review of the facts indicates that the problem has become increasingly acute and today has reached a point which justifies Dr. West's terse statement. Is it not ironical that some of the very things that have made for greater surety against disease have brought this about—the development of greater scientific knowledge, more efficient tools for the medical profession, better equipment for the care of hospital patients, and specialization in medicine? Were medical and hospital service provided today on the plane that prevailed twenty-five years ago, it would seem fair to assume that families of moderate means considering the increase in the real age would not be experiencing great difficulty in meeting sickness costs.

In response to the needs of the situation, there has been an enormous development in clinics which provide medical care free or at nominal rates. This has caused a growing feeling of uneasiness on the part of physicians. Many of them are receiving a smaller income than the cost of their education would justify, and they look upon this development of clinical service as unfair and dangerous competition. An unfortunate by-product is a rapidly crystallizing antagonism on the part of practitioners toward public health and social service activities. On the other hand, we see evidence of concern and no little bitterness among people of moderate means who find it increasingly difficult to pay the full cost of hospital care and the specialists' services. People of wealth who contribute generously to social service and philanthropic work and who have donated five billions of dollars to hospital construction are beginning to ask the question as to why with all the money that is going into these services it is impossible for the man of moderate means to get medical and hospital care at prices that he can afford.

It is indeed timely then that a committee of well-known authorities on "the cost of medical care" of which Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, of the United States, is chairman, has begun a thoroughgoing and intelligent inquiry into this whole matter. The researches of this able group of physicians, sociologists, and economists, both men and women, should provide a fund of valuable information and will, we hope, disclose a practicable solution.

This paper will present only in outline some of the factual material now available and will raise some of the many important questions which require further study.

The staggering cost of sickness.—Needless to say, we are dealing with a question which is of more than academic interest to this conference of social workers since sickness is so great a factor in the breakdown of families in their struggle for existence. The problems involved in the cost of medical service, however, are not primarily the concern of the poor. Regardless of whether we are entirely free from the worry of poverty, none of us, nor our families, is immune to sickness and none but the well-to-do may look with unconcern upon the mounting cost of being sick. The average individual between the cradle and the grave spends, it is estimated, one-fortieth of his time in bed because of sickness.

From the same cause the average worker loses 2 per cent of his time—a fraction more than seven days a year. For every one person incapacitated there are at least two physically impaired to the extent of from 10 to 50 per cent of their efficiency. It would appear, according to these data furnished by Dr. W. S. Rankin[1] that our people pay for medical service not less than two billion, five hundred million dollars a year, or at the rate of $20.83 per capita, or approximately $100 per family. These figures, however, are averages and they mean little. It is the unevenness of the burden that causes the great problem. If the cost of medical service were evenly distributed according to any such average, for most wage-earners there would probably be no cause for concern. But, in effect, where one family may pay as little as $25 or $50 in a given year, another may have an outlay totaling several hundred dollars—sufficient to upset the equilibrium of any ordinary budget. A preliminary report of the committee on the cost of medical service cites the case of a man with a family of five earning $200 a month whose bill during a six-month period was $545; another whose wife's illness from cancer cost $6,000; a girl who paid out $1,575 for a case of a ruptured appendix.

Studies quoted by Michael M. Davis[2] would indicate that 20 per cent of the families in any one year pay over 50 per cent of all sickness bills. This may in a measure explain the extent to which people are resorting to home medication, patent medicines, quacks, and cultists. A former health commissioner of New York compiled a list recently showing 59 different methods of "medical practice and cures" found in New York City. Dr. E. J. G. Beardsley, of Pennsylvania, is authority for the statement that of a large group of patients questioned, 34 per cent admitted having patronized irregular practitioners within three months of the time they called on him. It is estimated that fifty million dollars a year go to various types of healers. Of all of the drugs manufactured in the United States in 1923 for sale to

[1] *American Journal of Public Health,* April, 1929.

[2] *Modern Hospital,* May, 1929.

the general public, 53 per cent were patent and proprietary medicines sold at a cost of approximately two hundred million dollars.

Who are the sick?—The extent of defects, minor ailments, and what is termed "silent sickness," which, while they do not incapacitate and are frequently not treated, usually result in suffering and in loss of efficiency, challenges our attention. We all know, but frequently lose sight of the appalling facts shown in the examinations of drafted men during the war. Forty-seven per cent of them were classified as physically defective, a situation described by General Pershing as "a disgrace to the nation." Of this number, 21 per cent were rejected as unfit for service. Harry H. Moore[3] declares that it probably would be safe to say that "even with the limited knowledge and skill of the years before the war, at least one-third could have been prevented or remedied." Examinations conducted by the Life Extension Institute show that among a group of 5,000 persons not one was free from physical impairments. Dr. Thomas D. Wood[4] reports that "75 per cent of the school children of the United States have physical defects which are potentially or actually detrimental to health. Most of these defects are remediable." This makes the more important an inquiry into the cost of medical service because it shows that our people need not less but more skilful and comprehensive medical attention, which they are less likely to have if the cost of medical care continues to be beyond their means. Various studies indicate that from 25 to 40 per cent of our people go without the services of a physician when they are sick, presumably in most cases because they cannot afford to pay for it.

Custodial care of the mentally ill and the feebleminded costs about $660,000,000 a year. We know that this is only a fraction of those definitely handicapped from mental illness and efficiency because none of the states have adequate provision for the care of those who need to be hospitalized. Nor does it include the many types of minor nervous and mental disorders which constitute one of the great causes of human misery and inefficiency.

[3] *Public Health in the United States.*

[4] *Ibid.*

The cost of treatment is by no means, however, the total cost of sickness. There is in addition an estimated annual loss to the people of the United States of two billion dollars as a result of decreased earning capacity. Postponable deaths cause a loss estimated at six billion dollars. Adding these items together, we reach the staggering sum of ten billion dollars a year. The total annual income in the United States is approximately ninety billion. Therefore, it would seem that nearly one-ninth of the country's annual income can be charged to expenses and losses due to sickness and premature death.

Can our people pay?—Sixty-seven per cent of our families have, according to one careful estimate, an annual income under $1,450.[5] The average family we are told needs a minimum of $1,500 a year to maintain a satisfactory standard of living. It is therefore easy to understand that this 67 per cent of the families with incomes under $1,500 are constantly faced with difficulty in maintaining a balanced budget. A sudden illness or accident or an operation involving a large expenditure may put the family "on the rocks." For any family not actually rich, an incapacitating chronic illness is infinitely more serious than a short-time sickness, the expense of which they may be able to meet without too great difficulty. Chronic illness of the wage-earner extending over a period of months or years is usually disastrous to such families. It is small wonder that so large a number of people now find it necessary to seek the free services of clinics and hospitals. The wonder is rather how it can be in these circumstances that 50 per cent of the patients treated in the general hospitals of the country pay the full cost of their care.[6]

Expenditures for public health work.—In the year 1921 Moore estimates[7] that one billion, four million dollars was spent for the services of physicians and other healers, nurses, and hospital services, and for drugs and patent medicines. In the same year only sixty million dollars was spent in preventive health work through the federal, state, municipal, and rural health agencies. In other words, twenty-three times as much for treatment as for prevention! The per capita expenditure for 187 cities for different purposes in the year 1921 was 71 cents per capita—less than for any other single public service. Louis I. Dublin[8] estimates that in order to function effectively and to take advantage of all known means of promoting public health the average community would need an appropriation at the rate of $2.50 per capita.

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[5] Leo Wolman, *Survey*, June 15, 1927.

[6] W. S. Rankin, M.D., "The Economics of Medical Service," *American Journal of Public Health*, April, 1929.

[7] *Public Health in the United States.*

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[8] *Health and Wealth.*

ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY IN RELIEF AND HEALTH COORDINATION

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THE subject of coordination between relief and health organizations has been so thoroughly dealt with by Dr. Bryant[1] that there is little more to be said. Her title is most suggestive. She finds 1,250,000 people in New York attending dispensaries during a year, and 150,000 persons under the care of family welfare agencies. Of these about 135,000 are also dispensary attendants. Ninety per cent of the clients of relief agencies are dispensary attendants and only 10 per cent of dispensary attendants come from relief agencies. The problem, so far as mass is concerned, is therefore of major importance to relief agencies and of minor importance to dispensaries.

Dr. Bryant points out that, historically, both medical and relief organizations have a common origin in philanthropic service. They still present many analogies, although their development has been along diverging lines. The clinic has grown from a mere dispensing of drugs to the poor into a complicated diagnostic and treatment service for the sick and an educational hygienic service for the well. The social agency has developed from the dispensing of purely material relief to a thoroughgoing economic, psychological, educational, and physical service to the individual. In the former, less drugs are dispensed; in the latter, less money is doled out.

Perhaps the outstanding reason for differences of viewpoint between clinics and relief agencies is in their staff structure. In the clinic the physician is the central figure. He is usually a volunteer, which means his time in the clinic is limited and his interests there must be secondary. The entire staff revolves around the physician, whose work consists of the application of a highly technical skill to a single individual. He is not concerned, as a rule, with administrative policies except as they affect his medical work. Too often he is overloaded with a large number of individuals who must be dealt with expeditiously.

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[1] Louise Stevens Bryant, *Better Doctoring—Less Dependency.* Committee on Dispensary Development of the United Hospital Fund of New York, 1927.

In the social agency, professional work is done by full-time, paid workers. There is closer understanding between those who determine administrative policies and staff members, which leads to greater flexibility. The case worker is concerned with the entire family as a unit over a prolonged period. She "closes" cases much less frequently than the clinic. Having attended to the physical needs by referring the patient to a dispensary, she has still to deal with social, educational, and psychological needs. Thus the individual encounters dissimilar interests in the clinic and social agency, means and end are exchanged, and confusion and disharmony ensue. We are therefore confronted with two types of organization, both supported by public funds, each having many similar interests, each increasingly interdependent, and each necessarily making increased use of the other. On the one side the executive agent is the physician who has an individualistic viewpoint, has primary interests elsewhere, is often unsympathetic with social work which seems unnecessarily inquisitive, and who is burdened with the urgent necessity of seeing three and four times the number of patients to whom he can do justice. On the other side, the executive agent is the trained social worker who has but a desultory knowledge of medical matters, is often likely to overlook concealed illness as a cause of the social problem she is attempting to correct, who does not understand the complicated diagnostic methods of modern medicine, who chafes at the time they require and often resents the lack of clear cut findings and definite therapeutic results.

Is it to be wondered at that the social worker sends clients to the clinic with requests for Wassermann tests, assuming the prerogative of the physician to make a positive or negative diagnosis of syphilis? Or that she blithely informs the client that his tuberculosis is cured and it is time for him to go to work because his last sputum examination was negative? Or that she keeps the wife of a tuberculous husband in a constant state of fear for her own health and that of her children because of the dictum of the clinic physician that they should be kept under observation? Or that she insists upon a complete medical report which would violate the physician's conception of his ethical responsibilities? Or that she furnishes the physician with a carefully prepared but verbose report giving the case history in full detail, the reading of which would consume time which the doctor would be wiser to spend on the latest medical report covering the patient's disease.

Is it to be wondered at that the clinic physician often refuses to examine the apparently well clients of the social agency? Or that he overlooks important family medical history concealed in the social worker's case history? Or that he fails to show the consideration to a clinic patient which he would show to a private patient, thereby doubling the social worker's difficulties in obtaining the patients' return? Or that he refuses requests for laboratory and X-ray reports when he knows that the science of diagnosis requires a skilful evaluation of history, physical examination, and special reports? Or that he refuses to divulge the full detail of the patient's condition when he believes such a report will violate the patient's confidence?

Several remedial procedures present themselves, some of which are mentioned by Dr. Bryant. These are discussed in what seems to be the order of their importance.

Necessity of a paid clinic staff.—A paid medical staff at clinics and hospitals, one or two of which are full-time, is increasingly necessary. In fact, the common existence of a volunteer medical staff is a peculiar developmental anomaly. The day of volunteer social workers is largely past, and yet the social sciences are much younger than medicine. Gratuitous service to the poor is an age-long tradition in medicine and will probably always continue. But it is commonly found that the physician who devotes the most time to free service at clinics is also the one who does the most gratuitous work in his private office. In addition to this, physicians commonly experience difficulty in collecting more than from 60 to 70 per cent of what they charge. Regardless of the number of available free clinics, physicians will always find it necessary to render valuable service to patients unable to pay, who present themselves at their private offices. Why, therefore, should such service be free to still another group whose social life is for the time in the custody of an agency?

The reason appears to be that free medical service in dispensaries has usually been available to the clients of social agencies for the asking. During the period of development of social agencies it has been unnecessary to include the cost of medical care in the family's relief budget, yet the cost of clothing, food, fuel, and rent is included without hesitation, as is also, at times, the cost of special dental and nursing care.

The moment staff members are paid the whole administrative aspect is changed, even though the salary be a nominal one on an hourly basis. Then the clinic executive has a right to expect from his medical staff meticulous attendance, accuracy and completeness of reports, attention to rules, standardization of procedure and nomenclature, and an attempt to comply with the policies of the institution.

There seems to be a general feeling on the part of social agencies that better medical service is obtained in teaching institutions. This is largely due to the fact that the medical staff is paid, not in money, but in prestige. There is a professional advantage accruing to the private physician who is connected with a teaching institution. Furthermore, such faculties usually contain several full-time, salaried medical men, one or more of whom assumes some administrative duties.

Medical and social training.—The next remedial procedure lies in the training of both medical students and social workers. Dr. Cabot[2] has pointed out that medical training in the clinical years is largely a system of preceptorship. The student learns by watching the technic of his clinic chief, not by hearing lectures. This is a powerful educational method which influences character, habits of thought, conduct, and viewpoint more profoundly than any other. It is the method used by the great Greek philosophers, and by the trade guilds of more modern times. Unfortunately for the social worker, it sometimes works to her disadvantage in the medical schools of today. When the social worker meets the clinic physician in the presence of a group of medical students and is received with suspicion or open antagonism, irreparable damage is done the cause of social work, so far as the students are concerned. The slightest innuendo cast by the clinician in the presence of his students—an inflection of the voice, a change in facial expression—will take years of pleasant contacts between the young physician and social workers to overcome.

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[2] Richard C. Cabot, "Ethics and the Medical Profession," *Survey*, LV (1926), 618.

With the increasing importance of the social aspects of medical practice, it would seem that medical schools might well include a course in social medicine during the clinical years. But more important than this is an insistence that faculty members know something of the social aspects of medicine and that they have to deal in clinics and hospitals only with well trained medical social workers who merit their cooperation and respect.

Social workers, on the other hand, should become more generally familiar with the medical aspects of relief work. They should all be to some extent medical social workers. They should have had contact through lectures, seminars, and actual case work with medical men who have some understanding of their viewpoint. A working knowledge of the medical sciences and even of medical terminology is not unobtainable. Once the "unknowns" of health and disease are understood by the social worker, there is less danger of her overstepping her own field and assuming the prerogatives of the physician. Fortunately, this is being made easier by such writers as Dorsey,[3] De Kruif,[4] Overstreet,[5] and others.

Medical social service departments.—Dr. Bryant recommends "more and better social service departments properly organized in relation to the hospital administration." She points out that where medical social service departments exist, relief agencies appear better satisfied with their service. Proper training of the medical social worker is, of course, paramount. In addition to this, proper treatment and use of the medical social worker is mandatory if the clinic is to get the maximum benefit from her services. The medical social worker's chief value is: first, as an assistant to the physician, enabling him to approximate individual service to increased numbers; second, as a follow up agent to reduce the percentage of lost patients; third, as a *liaison* between medical and relief agencies; and, fourth, as a case worker among clinic patients who require social as well as medical treatment and who are not under supervision of other social agencies.

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[3] George A. Dorsey, *Why We Behave Like Human Beings.* New York: Harper Bros., 1925.

[4] Paul De Kruif, *The Microbe Hunters.* Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926.

[5] H. A. Overstreet, *About Ourselves.* New York: Norton & Co., 1927.

Conferences of agency executives.—Dr. Bryant states that misunderstandings between medical and relief agencies are partly due to mental attitude and can be remedied by frequent conference. The apparent success of the Welfare Council of New York is a testimonial to the correctness of Dr. Bryant's conclusions. The undoubted success of a smaller but older and similar organization, the Berkeley Coordinating Council,[6] is another favorable testimonial.

Berkeley Coordinating Council.—This Council was organized in 1924 by Dr. Virgil E. Dickson, then director of the Bureau of Research and Guidance of the Berkeley public schools. It was composed of the chief of police, the health officer, who was also director of the medical relief agencies and director of the school health department, the executive secretary of the Berkeley Welfare Society, an agent of the city charity commission, the superintendent of social service of the Berkeley Health Center, the visiting teacher, the director of elementary education, the policewoman (a trained social worker), and the chief executive of the Boy Scouts.

Its function was, first, to analyze and so far as possible meet the major community problems, and, second, to fix cooperative policies by analyzing and acting upon typical cases where more than one agency was interested. Satisfactory progress was made in a cooperative manner with such problems as psychiatric guidance of juvenile delinquents, the early detection of potential delinquents in certain schools, the need of special schools for segregated groups with similar physical defects, a uniform method of commitment to state institutions, a uniform procedure of preparing and presenting cases to the juvenile court. Much time was saved all agencies by free access to the records of other agencies and by immediate preparation of, and agreement upon, a case plan. Only typical cases were presented, and these, once acted upon, fixed a policy for similar cases in the future. Not only was a plan agreed upon, but certain portions of the plan were assigned the agency best equipped to carry it out, other agencies agreeing to withdraw for the time being.

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[6] Virgil E. Dickson, *The Berkeley Coordinating Council.* In press. Mental Hygiene.

Several important lessons were learned. First, it was found to be essential for the responsible head of each agency to be present at each meeting. This permitted immediate official sanction of a plan and made authoritative advice available. It also brought the council a familiarity with major problems confronting each agency and made possible a free interchange of valuable ideas. Each agency head was accompanied by an assistant familiar with details and with sufficient authority to carry out plans which were agreed upon. Meetings were carefully programed; summaries and keynotes of case reports were insisted upon rather than lengthy discussions; debates were brief and to the point and agreements quickly reached, as a general rule; excellent secretarial service was provided; meetings were convened and adjourned promptly. As a result, no meeting was closed without definite progress, a feeling of satisfaction on the part of council members, and often a gain of inspiration for all.

It was also learned that delimitation of function of the agencies represented was less important than agreement on a plan. Thus, it often appeared that the visiting teacher had the confidence of a family and could see to correction of physical defects better than the nurse. Or it would be evident that the policewoman could better handle a school attendance problem than the truant officer. Or the health department nurse might have rendered such services to the family in the past as to have their complete confidence and could better arrange commitment for a feebleminded member than the policewoman. And, strangely enough, it was not uncommon to find that the police officer on the beat was more friendly with the family than anyone else and could persuade regular attendance at a venereal clinic when all others had failed. Thus, the aim was to get results rather than to quibble over prerogatives.

Limitation of intake.—Finally, it is believed that limitation of intake and adoption of an appointment system by clinics will be found indispensable. When it becomes possible to apply efficiency tests and analyses of unit costs to clinics and hospitals, it will be shown clearly that the "greatest good to the greatest number" does not lie in the direction of the wide open door. The clinic's first responsibility to the patient is to do all for that patient that human endeavor can produce. Nothing excuses neglect of a single patient who is once registered, not even refusal of admission to others. Furthermore, it is a tragedy of most work dependent on public support that conditions must grow extremely serious before the public can be aroused to correct them.

Conclusions.—Several remedial procedures are suggested to promote economy and efficiency in relief and health coordination. Among them are: paid medical staffs in public clinics and hospitals; training of the medical student in the social aspects of medicine; training of the social worker in the medical aspects of relief work; more and better medical social workers in hospitals and clinics, and greater appreciation of their values aside from eligibility determination; frequent and periodic conference between chief executives of medical and social agencies, conducted in a spirit of sympathy, tact, and cooperation; limitation of intake in medical agencies and a willingness on the part of the community to provide necessary adequate medical care for the indigent.

THE TUBERCULOUS MIGRANT, A FAMILY PROBLEM: THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

Jessamine S. Whitney, Statistician, National Tuberculosis Association, New York City

A FEW weeks ago at the twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of the National Tuberculosis Association, Mr. Sydenstricker, statistician of the United States Public Health Service, said that the "relatively neglected" groups in tuberculosis work at the present time were young women, middle aged men in industry, and the Negro. To this list should be added the indigent tuberculosis migrant. In these four categories lie most of the problem for the future of tuberculosis work and the hope for the ultimate reduction of tuberculosis mortality to a minimum.

The first attempt at any extensive study to determine the magnitude of the tuberculous migrant problem was in 1920. Six cities of the southwest, San Antonio, El Paso, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Denver, and Colorado Springs, which seemed to be centers favored by the migrants, were thoroughly studied through social agency records. It was found at that time that there was one indigent tuberculous person to every 155 of the population of those six cities, and that two-thirds of all tuberculous individuals cared for had resided less than two years in those cities. This was in sharp contrast to a similar study made in Cleveland as a control city, where only 11 per cent of all tuberculous persons reached by social agencies were non-residents.

In 1924 a check up was made in two of the cities previously studied, namely, Colorado Springs and Phoenix. It was thought that by comparing the figures obtained in the study of four years previous, gathered on a strictly comparable basis, it would be possible to get some line on the increase or decrease of migration to that section. Phoenix showed a 9 per cent decline in the number of dependent tuberculous persons cared for in 1920 and 1924. But between those two years there had been a 20 per cent decline in the mortality rate from tuberculosis and a corresponding decline in the incidence of the disease.

In Colorado Springs there was an actual increase of 21 per cent in the number of indigent tuberculous cared for by the city in the face of a 20 per cent decline in the mortality and incidence of the disease.

It was found also that the character of the migration had not changed appreciably between 1920 and 1924. In both years men constituted about 70 per cent of the total migrant group. It is probable that there is less disparity between the number of men and women migrants now, since in the early part of the decade the problem was greatly complicated by ex-service men. About 70 per cent of the tuberculous women and a smaller percentage of men migrants brought one or more members of their family with them. So that while the so called "homeless man" predominated numerically among the tuberculosis cases, this was more than offset by the migrants who brought their families, each member of which became just as definitely a charge on the community as did the tuberculous members of the family themselves. The largest number were in the age group between twenty and thirty. Sixteen per cent made application for aid within a week after arrival and 50 per cent before they had resided three months in the community. The sources of the migrants were chiefly Illinois, New York, Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

It seemed fair to conclude then after the 1924 study that for those first years of the present decade the tide of migration to the southwest was continuing unabated and that it was relatively increasing. All the efforts of health agencies to urge curing at home had had little or no effect.

In order to collect data to find what has been happening in these later years of the decade it was necessary to resort to correspondence with those agencies which deal with the tuberculous migrant rather than to make intensive local studies as in the two previous reports. Sixty-four agencies were queried on a few points which collectively might give something of a picture of the situation in 1928. Fifty-three of the agencies replied, and the conclusions reached here are necessarily based on the replies received.

In order to define the zone which the migrants frequent, the request for information was extended to the entire Rocky Mountain area and to the Pacific Northwest as well as to the Southwest. There have been times in the past few years when a rise in the tuberculosis mortality rate in the sparsely settled states of the Northwest having low tuberculosis death rates seemed to argue that the tide of migrants through Denver, which is and always has been the gateway to the West, might be spreading fanwise to the north as well as the south.

But the present returns from Oregon and Washington show that there is not yet a serious tuberculous migrant problem there. In Portland only one out of 3,681 families handled in 1928 was a tuberculous non-resident family. In Spokane there were 2 non-resident families out of 1,337 cared for, and in Tacoma 4 out of 568. The tuberculosis clinics of the Northwest tell the same story, with the exception of Seattle. There the tuberculosis clinics show 14 per cent to be non-resident, but Seattle is a seaport and the crossroads for wanderers from the Orient, Alaska, and the Pacific Coast, so that it is very doubtful whether they represent a part of the problem which we are considering.

But Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas are still feeling a large service and financial burden because of the hundreds of tuberculous persons who must be taken care of there. For New Mexico there is only the evidence from clinics, as relief agencies are not well enough developed in that state to have available records.

From 27 communities in the four states named in the foregoing, excluding New Mexico, replies were received showing more than 4,500 tuberculous non-resident persons cared for in

1928. And replies were received only from organized relief associations and tuberculosis clinics. This number could easily be doubled if definite and accurate reports were obtainable from all public and private institutions, such as health camps, fraternal orders, Salvation Army, American Legion, and other agencies which contribute to the needy tuberculous. Likewise, if the six other communities in those four states which replied but which could not furnish definite figures could have given accurate testimony, it is entirely probable that another thousand, at least, would have been added to the total.

It seems therefore entirely reasonable and conservative to say that in Arizona, California, Colorado, and Texas there were in 1928 at least 10,000 wanderers sick with tuberculosis who became a financial burden on the various communities within those states wherever fancy chose to take them.

If the burden for any one individual was confined exclusively to any one locality the problem might be coped with more adequately. But you all know the odysseys that these poor sufferers make. One of the western agencies, in replying, sent the history of a single case and the correspondence connected with it. Hundreds of dollars in time of various agencies east and west were spent in his behalf, and his wanderings, if plotted, would look like one of those maps of the United States showing Colonel Lindbergh's trips just after his famous flights.

Perhaps you say to yourself that 10,000 persons out of a possible total of 560,000 known cases in the United States do not constitute a big problem. But the seriousness of it lies in the fact that the 10,000 persons are added to states having relatively small populations for their area, and that most of the wanderers attach themselves to communities like Colorado Springs and Phoenix, where the populations are small and where even a few added indigents are a heavy burden.

For Colorado Springs there are comparable statistics for the three years 1900, 1924, and the year ending July, 1927. Mr. Justin Hills, of the Associated Charities, has supplied figures for the latter year obtained on the same basis as the two earlier studies made by the writer. Here is the story: In 1920 there had been 385 indigent turberculous cared for by city agencies at a per capita cost to each resident of the city of approximately $1.00 a year; in 1924, 466 indigent tuberculous were cared for at a per capita cost to each man, woman, and child living there of nearly $1.20; and during the year ending July 1, 1927, 436 dependent tuberculous were helped at a per capita cost to the population of $2.00. It must be remembered that during these eight years the average death rate throughout the United States has declined about one-third, so that it might be expected that there would be a third less migration if it declined correspondingly. In Colorado Springs there has been an actual increase in the migratory cases carried.

In estimating a figure of 10,000 as a minimum number of tuberculous migrants to the Southwest, we have not yet considered the family problem. In Colorado Springs there were found to be three times as many other persons in tuberculous families who likewise became dependent. That would mean 30,000 other persons, at least half of them children, who became public charges. So instead of a problem of 10,000, it becomes one of 40,000. And the woeful part of the story is that not one of the cities in the Southwest has anything like adequate provision—medical, relief, or institutional—to care for tuberculous persons, whether resident or non-resident.

It is probably the concentration of these migrants along certain well defined routes which offers the biggest problem, and perhaps might be the means of a partial solution. Not all of the five southwestern states are equally hit. Only certain cities feel the heaviest burden.

It was interesting to see how, as the replies came in, the zone of the migrants could be fairly well defined. In Dallas, Houston, Fort Worth, Galveston, and Amarillo, in Texas, there was a slight sprinkling of tuberculous migrants but not enough numerically or financially to create a serious local problem. In San Antonio and El Paso, however, it is a serious problem and much more so in the latter than the former. In El Paso, 88 per cent of clinic cases are tuberculous migrants; in San Antonio, 18 per cent. That Texas is not so much resorted to by sick wanderers is shown by the tuberculosis death rate for that state, which is relatively low. It looks as if the serious problem in Texas were confined largely to the cities of El Paso and San Antonio. In El Paso the tuberculosis association reports that there seemed to be an increase of migrants between 1926 and 1927, and that in 1928 the number was about the same as in 1927. These are impressions, of course, but valuable, since they come from the persons closest to the problem. In El Paso the tuberculosis problem is made more acute by the presence of many Mexicans, who constituted 75 per cent of cases handled in tuberculosis clinics. Inasmuch as El Paso is at the border the task of following these cases and doing anything like adequate case work for them is well nigh impossible.

Unfortunately, I was not able to get data from the Denver Family Relief Society, but the impression of social workers in that city is that the problem has not declined in the last five years. There is the testimony of the Denver clinic, which shows 40 per cent of the cases to be tuberculous non-residents. In Colorado Springs the corresponding figure is 66 per cent. Pueblo, perhaps because it is a junction railroad point, has begun to feel the burden also, reporting that one-third of the families helped last year were tuberculous non-residents. While there is a scattering of tuberculous non-residents throughout Colorado, as its general tuberculosis mortality rate remains high (139 per hundred thousand), the problem is largely confined to the three cities mentioned, with Colorado Springs bearing the greatest burden relatively.

In California the tendency seems to be to spread out to the smaller cities of the South and away from Los Angeles. The relief agency there reports a distinct decline in the tuberculous non-resident population, and the figures bear this out, only 20 families out of nearly 14,000 in 1928 belonging in this category. But this small proportion is based upon an arbitrary classification of non-residents, namely, the usual one of a year. The real story back of this is that the migrants come with a little money, are perhaps not too sick to obtain work for a while, and hang on with the definite idea of remaining a twelvemonth, when they will automatically become resident. By that time their disease has progressed, they are there to stay, and are just as definite and distinct a problem as the recently arrived tuberculous wanderers.

In central California Oakland shows only 5 per cent of non-residents at tuberculosis clinics and San Francisco 16 per cent, giving San Francisco a definite and distinct burden in this respect. Riverside and San Diego show 27 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively, of non-resident patients at tuberculosis clinics. Some of the problem in southern California is due to the influx of Mexican labor rather than to migration from the East, and under present laws and economic conditions that section is liable to suffer from this situation for years to come. In Los Angeles County, outside the city, only 10 per cent of the tuberculosis cases handled in the clinics in 1928 were migrants. Such a proportion might be expected in any city east or west, so that both for Los Angeles city and County the evidence of the figures at least indicates no serious problem.

In Arizona the problem is a serious one in every center large enough to have available reports. Phoenix has always been a Mecca and still is. In the 1920 study Phoenix had about 500 cases of tuberculous migrants; in 1924 the number declined to about 450; and in 1928 it is well over 600 individuals, and if all members of tuberculous non-resident families are included the load would be nearly 1,200. The social service organization reports that "there is no question but that the problem of the tuberculous is becoming more acute in Arizona each year. We have no free hospital facilities in Phoenix and each winter we find it harder to provide for these patients." This increase in the problem of the tuberculous in Phoenix is in the face of a decline of one-third in the incidence of the disease.

But it is not to Phoenix alone that the tide turns, but to Globe and Tucson. Tucson used to be for the rich tuberculous and Phoenix for the poor. But today in Tucson nearly one-fourth of the dependent tuberculous are non-resident and 81 per cent of the Charities' budget for relief goes to tuberculosis patients. Forty-five per cent of their clinic cases are non-resident. In Globe 31 per cent of clinic attendants are migrants, so that there also the burden is being felt.

If the figures could be obtained from scattered sections of Arizona, where there are no organized agencies, the total would be augmented considerably. The Arizona tuberculosis death rate tells that story clearly enough. It is almost inconceivable but true that the tuberculosis mortality rate in Arizona last year was 303 per hundred thousand as compared with approximately 78 for the country at large. If we had no other figure but that, it would define the magnitude of the problem. Fourteen hundred and thirty-two deaths from tuberculosis in Arizona last year!

Unfortunately, there are no available figures for New Mexico, but unquestionably hundreds of tuberculous migrants passed through there last year and were a serious financial drain on the communities of Albuquerque and Santa Fe.

I have tried to give a picture of the general situation state by state. Summarized briefly it is as follows: There is as yet no serious problem in the Northwest except perhaps in Seattle. In the Southwest there is acute concentration in various cities and I should like to designate the ones which, if they could combine on a policy and have enough personnel to carry it out, could control to a certain extent the whole problem. These cities are in rank according to the seriousness of the situation, Phoenix, Colorado Springs, El Paso, Denver, Tucson, Albuquerque, the cities of southern California, and San Antonio. If the family welfare and tuberculosis associations of these eight communities could form an alliance and agree on policies, it would go far toward making the way easier for the agency and the tuberculous individual.

That there is a serious and continuing problem of the tuberculous migrant in the Southwest seems obvious, and so long as advertising of its virtues as a healing clime persist, it will attract the poor as well as the rich. And so long as relief agency policies in different localities are diverse, so long as laws of settlement are unsatisfactory or non-existent, so long as adequate institutional and social agencies for caring for the tuberculous in the East are inadequate, and the means of motor transportation gets progressively cheaper, so long as physicians and well meaning neighbors in the East advise tuberculous patients and friends to go West, just so long I venture to predict will the Southwest feel this burden.

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTS IN HEALTH PUBLICITY

Virginia R. Wing, Director of Health Education, Health Council, Cleveland

IN THE last fifty years a new order of service has sprung up. Like the followers of St. Francis of Assisi in their vows of service and in their humility, they call themselves not physicians but public health workers. They have assumed as their human service the spreading of health information and their order has increased over the land. These custodians and dispensers of public health knowledge, however, began their work with a certain fundamental misconception, that misconception being that people wanted to be well. Therefore, the work of these educators consisted in securing the truth from scientists and physicians, telling it abroad baldly, directly, with no fuss and feathers.

Certain wise souls accepted these truths and used and profited by them, but the most of humanity went its way, ignoring the fact that vaccination prevented smallpox, that milk was necessary for children's proper growth, that toxin-antitoxin prevented diphtheria, and that a periodic physical examination was as necessary as spring house cleaning. Conservative estimates indicate that carloads of printed health facts were filed in waste baskets, that milk was still absent in half the city homes, that smallpox was increasing in the United States and England, and that grown men still refused to eat spinach and raw vegetables. Irving Fisher at this time gave out the statement that if people only practiced the known scientific truths regarding health, human life could be extended twenty years; and the public health worker took a deep breath and went at the job of educating the people again. This second effort was along the line of exhibits, posters, films, parades, news stories, broadcasting health facts in pictorial style.

We all remember "Death—the grim reaper," who appeared at countless food shows, knocking every tenth baby on the head to show the ravages of infant mortality; the films showing the tuberculosis San at its best; the poster saying "I eat right—do you?"; and the children's plays in which milk was the hero, coffee the villain, and the vegetables acted as chorus. Certain added information was secured by the public through these means, but slowly the truth began to take shape in front of the earnest health educator. This truth stripped of its disguising veils is that people do not want to be well as much as they want other things, such as to be rich, educated, pretty, popular, home owners, elected, and, in satisfying these dominant desires, health had to take a second place.

Curiously enough, the patent medicine advertisers saw the truth clearly before the public health worker and a whole new series of ads appeared. "Halitosis keeps people from jobs, invitations, wives. Use listerine and be socially acceptable"; "Pep, vim, vigor, success. Use yeast"; "You may win popularity with that school girl complexion"; "He never knew that body odors lost him the job. Use Lifebuoy soap." Thus, by tying the articles to be sold to one of the human urges, an increased distribution occurred and the get-well-quick instinct was satisfied.

This third epoch of the public health worker is just beginning. Humbly, they are accepting the fact that their cherished pearl of health, as such, is pearls before swine; that for the pearl to be desired it must be set round with the dominant motives of mankind.

Not being a psychologist, I am carefully approaching this part of my paper. To me the surface reasons that move human nature are desire for wealth, love, success, beauty, safety, comfort, leadership. Each age has its dearest goals, as athletic leadership for the boy, style and popularity for the girl, safety and comforts for her own for the mother, better jobs, advancement, protection for the father. Then there are general urges, as the church for the good of its congregation; labor for the virility and success of its members; industry, that men shall be healthy without family worries in order to carry on at top energy; physicians that charlatans shall not have freedom over human lives. These and other urges must be carefully studied and those belonging properly with the health subject in hand used as a setting for this pearl of great price. The following illustrations will bring out my point, as it is always easier to understand the use of an idea if one can give specific illustrations.

The first is the Girls' Health Year, which has not only been successful in Cleveland but has been copied by several large cities and several state health organizations with great success. The theory in that campaign around which we organized our plan was that girls want to be charming, to be popular, to be good looking, and to be stylish more than they want almost anything else. Therefore, with perfect truth the campaign was organized to prove that health observances, posture, and physical fitness were not ends in themselves but contributed directly to the charm, beauty, success, and popularity of the individual. This was played up in every piece of material gotten out, in every newspaper story, and in such fashion that the connection was not remote but direct.

The last bulletin was named *The Beauty Trail* and was illustrated by the charming young person who really looked as girls like to look. The folder carried one page on "What Price Beauty?" suggesting a daily budget for beauty, an insurance policy saying, "Be good looking today and ten years from today," a statement on posture which said, "There is beauty in poise, in repose, in the girl who walks up to any situation with self-possession. Don't envy beauty—yours for the taking."

The fact that 35,000 Cleveland girls took part in this, that we had had a continuing demand for the material after the year was up, that we were able to effect certain definite improvements in food selection at schools, in adaptation of part of the school curriculum to take part in the idea, and the formation of a permanent Metropolitan Health Committee based on this thought indicates certain success.

In the program on periodic physical examinations we found that previously the emphasis had been on the bad physical conditions found, on "as much justice to yourself as to your automobile," and on finding serious conditions and correcting them before they became a menace to life. We have set up our program on an entirely different basis. We are presuming that regular employment, advancement both in salary and in position, success through personality, comes from keeping fit, and with this approach our campaign is organized for employees, both men and women, in industry and in business.

There are other people who do not have these urges mentioned in the foregoing nearly as strongly as they have the urge to keep alive so they can continue to enjoy themselves. To these people we are pointing out that having spent fifty years in getting plenty of money, in arriving at the present position of importance occupied, it is just good business sense to keep yourself fit by steady looking over. This applies to such groups as Rotary associations, employers' associations, chambers of commerce, etc. There is still another appeal which is useful in periodic physical examination propaganda if carefully used, and that is "Safety first—stitch in time." This means especially work with young people, attempting to build in them an appreciation of what it means to continue to feel during the rest of their life the way they feel when they are twenty, and getting them accustomed to physical examinations so they take them as a matter of course and not with apprehension in a neurotic way.

Each one of these methods is used by outside concerns, the last one especially by the life insurance people, and is sufficiently satisfactory as a sales talk to appear in most of their publications.

In work regarding tuberculosis the publicist has much to overcome, because for years the fear motive has been the one most strongly accentuated in publicity. We have been at work along the lines of keeping well and fighting off germs. This is the hardest kind of program to carry over with any punch. One of our methods has been the height-weight method for adults, and at a recent food show something like 5,000 men and women walked on the scales, took their height, and studied the relationships of their measurement to the normal, all under the tuberculosis banner which kept calling, "Keep well—prevent tuberculosis!"

We are using another method for another age group which has been reasonably effective, and that is the contact method. By accepting the medical statements that "from tuberculosis contacts come the victims of the disease," we are slowly gathering in through the schools, through the dispensaries and other sources of information, the children who have been in contact with a case of open tuberculosis. Having secured them, we are dealing through the school medical inspection directly with the parents, using the paternal instinct as the hook on which to hang our signs and sayings. It is surprising to find how much work can be done with parents once they are convinced by personal conversation of the relationship of bad teeth, malnutrition, poor posture to the actual case of tuberculosis. The paternal instinct is somewhere in every parent's soul, and while it cannot be used in too general a way, specific use means success.

In one program we tried out the superiority motive, which makes people want to tell other people things. We sent out thousands of leaflets to individuals saying that if they knew any young women who were about to have babies, that they give them certain information regarding clinics, classes, and general prenatal care. Somehow this worked, and we believe because of our assumption that each individual who received the letter would feel that he was being treated as a superior individual who gave facts to others.

Clean-up Week has been laughed at by serious minded social workers all over the country and yet year by year it grows. More money is put in and more organizations are interested. Our last year's work was based on four dominant factors: first, community pride, since we divided the city up into small sections; second, enhancement of property values; third, getting your money's worth, that is, having paid taxes to the city, get the city to do the work for which you pay the taxes; fourth, the sense of beauty, which we stimulated by every type of garden and flower publicity, through prizes, contests, cheap seeds, and every other method. Perhaps love of beauty is not really a motive; perhaps one had better say successful domination over things and the sense of the creator.

At any rate, from these varying motives we built our program so that the whole city rang with the clang of trowels, rumbled with the wheels of the garbage wagon, and smelled of new paint. Propaganda it certainly is, because it is in a sense an indirect attempt to sell paint and hardware, but public health it certainly is, too, since the way you live makes an enormous difference in what you are, and germs, dark corners, old infected dust, and flies automatically depart ahead of the clean-up week brigade.

One could go through program after program analyzing each objective from the angle of where it most effectively struck the wellspring of emotional urge, but these represent most of our experiments.

This paper is presented for discussion, for exchange of experience, and as a preliminary to real study by both psychologists and publicists as to stimulation of human emotions to secure desired action.

What the fourth stage of the publicity health worker's effort will be one can hardly see, but certain it is that emotion rules, and that to know a thing with the intellect can never mean the same force and continuous action as to feel it with the emotions.

INSURANCE IN DEPENDENT FAMILIES

* * *

INSURANCE PRINCIPLES FOR AGENCIES DEALING WITH DEPENDENT FAMILIES

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THE question as to what relief organizations, child caring agencies, and similar associations of a public or private character should do with respect to life insurance in families in their charge is not a new problem. In all likelihood, it has required attention since wage-earners were enabled to insure themselves against the hazards of life. The question has been more prominent in recent years because of the relatively larger number of families carrying life insurance. This is due to the efforts of social agencies, savings banks, and insurance companies to promote thrift, to the increase in real wages since the war, and to the tremendous development of the insurance idea resulting from the action of the government in providing insurance for those engaged in the war. This war measure educated all classes of the population regarding the need and value of life insurance protection.

A study which I presented to this Conference thirteen years ago showed two interesting sets of facts. The first, taken from the records of the Charity Organization Society of New York, indicated that of families in their care those carrying life insurance had maintained themselves after crises for a longer period than those without such insurance. Equally interesting was a study of 1,000 families one year after insurance claims had been paid. Almost all were found to be self-supporting. In a group of 258, whose claims had been paid on the death of the wage-earner, only 8, or a little over 3 per cent, were in the care of charitable organizations.

Of greater significance is the ratio of dependent families to normal families. No accurate data are available. So far as I can determine from studies of various communities, it is not probable that the number of families requiring permanent material relief will exceed 2 per cent of the total population. In many communities it will be less. Our problem, therefore, is not with the 98 per cent of self-supporting, independent families, but with the remnant of 2 per cent or less, who for some cause or other become dependent upon public or private relief agencies.

What is the character and extent of insurance in dependent families? There are few authentic data available. In the realization that the subject was one of interest equally to insurance companies and to welfare societies, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, with the cordial approval of the Prudential Insurance Company of America and the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company, in the summer of 1928 undertook to obtain the facts. So that the contemplated survey should be unbiased, it asked the cooperation of a group of prominent social workers as an advisory committee. This committee was constituted as follows: Ralph G. Hurlin, statistician, Russell Sage Foundation, chairman; Samuel A. Goldsmith, director, Bureau of Jewish Social Research; Rose McHugh, Social Action Division, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Linton B. Swift, executive secretary, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work; Walter M. West, executive secretary, American Association of Social Workers. The direction of the survey was intrusted to Dr. William A. Berridge, formerly of Brown University, and at present economist of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

This committee planned the survey and under its auspices a large group of welfare organizations, public and private, in the United States were asked to furnish transcripts from their case records. The data thus obtained are now being assembled and studied. A total of 6,000 transcripts has been received. It has not yet been possible to tabulate these in their entirety. The committee hopes at a later date to publish a special report giving the details of the study and the findings and conclusions of the committee. Fortunately, a sufficient number (3,500) of the records were available to give a fairly good cross section of the situation. The picture, while not altogether accurate, is nevertheless sufficiently suggestive for our purpose. I can do no more than consider the high lights of the data obtained and to attempt to interpret these as well as possible, pending the final detailed report.

Of 185 relief agencies approached, approximately 130 have cooperated by tabulating certain insurance and economic facts on selected cases. Of these 130 agencies, 116 are private family welfare agencies, and 14 are mothers' assistance agencies. Most cities with a population of 100,000 or more and a number of smaller cities are represented.

The principle of selection was to record all cases which had been major care relief cases for three months or longer. Many agencies omitted families in which insurance did not seem to be "a problem."

Of the families in the care of family welfare agencies, 2,725 had in force 13,015 life insurance policies. These included, in a few instances, discontinued and paid-up policies. Industrial policies predominated; other classes constituted less than one-twelfth of the total number. Some Ordinary and Group policies may have been overlooked because the former are paid for at longer intervals than Industrial, and the latter are paid for at the place of employment.

The survey showed a total of 5,016 Industrial endowment policies (38 per cent), 5,880 (45 per cent) Whole-Life Industrial policies, and 1,190 policies on miscellaneous plans. Ordinary and Group policies numbered 441; Accident and Health, 488. Life insurance in force exceeded two and one-half million dollars.

These 2,725 families comprise 13,820 individuals living at home, plus 550 not living at home, an average of about 5 persons per family. Of these 14,370 persons, insurance premiums were paid on 8,544, or practically 60 per cent. The balance of 40 per cent understates the proportion of individuals uninsured, as many agencies omitted reporting families in which insurance was negligible or nil. It is likely that half of the family members had no life insurance at all.

Of 3,911 possible wage-earners living at home, 2,765 were able to work, 889 were employed full time, 963 part time, and 913 were unemployed. Over 1,100 were reported either temporarily or permanently disabled. The normal earnings, assuming all wage-earners working full time, averaged $25.00 per week; the actual earnings averaged only $10.00 per week.

Full data on income were reported for 1,821 families. These had a normal income, when all wage-earners were fully employed, of $44,000.00 per week, a total family budget of $40,000.00, and actual earnings of $17,000.00. They received $18,500.00 from relief agencies, and $2,100.00 from other sources including relatives.

Insurance premiums averaging 85 cents per family among the 1,821 families aggregated $1,536.00 per week. These premiums equal 8 per cent of the grants from relief agencies, 9 per cent of actual earnings, 4 per cent of the family budget, and 3.5 per cent of the normal income.

Of the 1,821 families, 463, or 25 per cent, had no life insurance. For reasons stated elsewhere, the true proportion of dependent families having no insurance is probably larger than 25 per cent. If we consider only the 1,358 insured families, and compare the insurance outlay with their income, receipt of relief, etc., we find that the total premiums paid, amounting to $1,536.00, average about $1.10 per family. This represents 4.5 per cent of normal income, 11 per cent of relief from agencies, 11.5 per cent of actual earnings, 5 per cent of family budget, or 5.3 per cent of actual earnings plus all relief.

Averages do not tell the full story. I am adding, therefore, a distribution of families based on amounts of premium. Excluding 463 families without insurance, there were 46 families, or 3.4 per cent, with premiums of 20 cents or less, 224 paid from 20 cents to 50 cents, 216 from 50 cents to 75 cents, 201 from 75 cents to $1.00, 187 from $1.00 to $1.25, 134 from $1.25 to $1.50, 97 from $1.50 to $1.75, 72 from $1.75 to $2.00, 181 above $2.00 per week. Table I sums up the distribution in detail.

When these 1,358 insured families for which income data were returned are sorted out by normal income groups, we find that they are distributed as shown in Table II. Of the whole sample, 142 families, or about one-tenth, were reported as receiving less than $10.00 a week even when all breadwinners were fully employed. The other low income groups are slightly less numerous, but further up the scale we find the families much more densely concentrated; more than half of the 1,358 normally earn between $18.00 and $35.00 a week per family. The number dwindles rapidly after reaching about $35.00, although 60 of these families have normal earnings in excess of $50.00 a week.

TABLE I

Number and Percentage of Families under Care of Family Agencies Having Life Insurance, with Amounts of Premium Paid Weekly

Insurance Premium	Number of Families	Percentage Distribution of Families
Total	1,358	100.0
5c but under 20c	46	3.4
20c but under 30c	90	6.6
30c but under 40c	61	4.5
40c but under 50c	73	5.4
50c but under 75c	216	15.9
75c but under $1.00	201	14.8
$1.00 but under 1.25	187	13.8
1.25 but under 1.50	134	9.9
1.50 but under 1.75	97	7.1
1.75 but under 2.00	72	5.3
2.00 but under 2.50	101	7.4
2.50 but under 3.00	41	3.0
3.00 and over	39	2.9

The average premium per insured family rises regularly from about 76 cents for those normally earning under $10.00 per week up to $1.67 for those earning more than $50.00 per week. The $1.00 mark is passed at about the point where normal income rises to $27.00 a week.

The ratio of premium to normal income follows an exactly opposite course as we pass from low income to high income groups. The families in the "under $10.00 group" spend about one-eighth of their normal income on insurance. The group from $10.00 to $13.00 a week spend only 7 per cent, and from that point on the percentage steadily shrinks, finally touching 3 per cent in the group normally earning $50.00 and over. When one compares life insurance premiums with actual earnings, plus relief from all sources, it is found that for the group under $10.00 in normal income, 5 per cent is spent on insurance. The percentage fluctuates somewhat erratically between 5 per cent and 4 per cent from that point on. It will be remembered that the general average for all income brackets combined is 5.3 per cent of total family income plus relief, spent on insurance, or 4.5 per cent of normal income so spent.

TABLE II

Number and Percentage of 1,358 Insured Families under Care of Family Welfare Agencies Classified by "Normal Income" and "Actual Earnings"

Income Group per Week	Families Classified According to Normal Income		Families Classified According to Actual Earnings	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total	1,358	100.0	1,358	100.0
Less than $10	142	10.5	734	54.0
$10–$13	129	9.5	211	15.5
14– 17	136	10.0	153	13.3
18– 23	237	17.5	128	9.4
24– 29	244	18.0	72	5.3
30– 35	262	19.3	41	3.0
36– 41	89	6.5	11	1.2
42– 49	59	4.3	7	0.5
$50 and over	60	4.4	1	0.0

For your further interest, I show in Table II how the 1,358 insured families are classified according to their normal income and actual earnings—*excluding* all relief from agencies or other sources.

Families in care of mothers' assistance agencies to the number of 775 have thus far been studied. The insurance problem in mothers' assistance agencies is so markedly different from that in private agencies that a separate classification has been made of them. This difference is primarily due to the fact that in many of these families dependency was caused by the death of the father, so that in the determination of "normal income" his former earnings are excluded.

These 775 families had in force 5,548 life insurance policies. They included in a few instances discontinued and paid-up policies. Industrial policies predominated; other classes constituted less than one-thirtieth of the total number. As with the other group, some Ordinary and Group policies may have been overlooked.

The survey showed for these cases a total of 2,251 Industrial endowment policies (40 per cent), 2,510 whole-life Industrial policies (45 per cent), and 631 miscellaneous. Ordinary and Group policies numbered 107, Accident and Health 49. Life insurance in force exceeded one million dollars.

These 775 families comprise 3,902 individuals living at home plus 92 not living at home—an average of about 5 persons per family. Of these 3,994 persons, insurance premiums were paid on 3,293, or about 80 per cent. The balance of 20 per cent probably understates the proportion of individuals uninsured. It is likely that at least one-third of the individuals had no insurance at all.

Of 1,298 possible wage earners living at home, more than 1,230 were able to work, 427 were employed full time, 323 part time, and 480 were unemployed. Only 68 were reported either temporarily or permanently disabled. The normal earnings, assuming all present wage earning members of the family working full time, averaged $19.00 per week; the actual earnings averaged $14.00 per week.

Full data on income were reported for 572 families. These had a normal income, when all wage earners were fully employed, of $10,700.00 per week, a total family budget of $15,500.00, and actual earnings of $8,000.00. They received $6,000.00 from relief agencies, and $200.00 from other sources, including relatives.

Insurance premiums averaging $1.05 per family among the 572 families aggregated $600.00 per week. They equal 5.5 per cent of the normal income, 10 per cent of the grants from relief agencies, 7.5 per cent of actual earnings, and 4 per cent of the family budget.

Of the 572 families, 44, or 8 per cent, had no insurance.

The 528 families had insurance premiums averaging $1.15 each. This amount represents 6 per cent of the normal income, 11 per cent of relief from agencies, 8 per cent of actual earnings, 4.2 per cent of family budget, or 4.5 per cent of actual earnings plus all relief. As was the case in the other group of families, these percentages do not indicate general overinsurance.

Of these 528 families, 40 had premiums of 30 cents or below. Above this point, the number of families paying specified premiums rapidly rises, reaching its maximum at about $1.00. A total of 109 families were found to spend between $1.00 and $1.25. Beyond this point the number rapidly declines. The ratio of premium to normal income varies from less than 1 per cent in the lightly covered families to 10 per cent and over when the premiums exceed $2.50 per week. The average, as explained in the previous paragraph, is 6 per cent of normal income, but only 4.5 per cent of present income plus relief.

The ratio of premium to family budget, which averages 3.9 per cent for all insured families combined, ran as follows for selected groups: 1 per cent in the 20 cent–30 cent group, 4 per cent in the $1.00–$1.25 group, 7 per cent in the $2.00–$2.50 group, and so on up to about 10 per cent; the upward gradations are surprisingly regular. Substantially the same observation may be made of the ratio between premium and total earned income plus relief. That ratio rises fairly regularly from 1 per cent in the 20 cent–30 cent families to 4.3 per cent for the $1.00–$1.25 families, to 7.4 per cent for the $2.00–$2.50 families, and up to 11.5 per cent for the families spending $3.00 and more in premium.

Table III recapitulates the distribution of families according to insurance payments.

When the 528 insured families for which income data were returned are sorted out by normal income groups, we find that they are distributed as shown in Table IV. Of the whole sample, 119 families, or about 22 per cent, were reported as earning less than $10.00 a week, even when all breadwinners were fully employed. Above $10.00, the number of families in the different groups rapidly dwindles, although it is a fact that 14 of these families have normal earnings in excess of $50.00 a week.

TABLE III

Number and Percentage of Families under Mothers' Assistance Agencies Having Life Insurance, with Amounts of Premium Paid Weekly

Insurance Premium	Number of Families	Per Cent
Total	528	100.0
5c but under 20c	11	2.1
20c but under 30c	16	3.0
30c but under 40c	16	3.0
40c but under 50c	20	3.8
50c but under 75c	74	14.0
75c but under $1.00	96	18.2
$1.00 but under 1.25	109	20.6
1.25 but under 1.50	60	11.4
1.50 but under 1.75	45	8.5
1.75 but under 2.00	32	6.1
2.00 but under 2.50	28	5.3
2.50 but under 3.00	13	2.5
3.00 and over	8	1.5

The average premium per family rises regularly from about 98 cents for those normally earning under $10.00 per week up to nearly $1.60 for those earning from $42.00 to $49.00 per week. The dollar mark is passed at about the point where normal income rises to $19.00 a week.

Naturally enough, the ratio of premium to normal income follows an exactly opposite course, as we pass from low income to high income groups. Thus, the families in the under $10.00 group spent 16 per cent of their normal income on insurance. The group from $10.00 to $13.00 a week spent only 8 per cent of normal income on insurance, and from that point on the percentage steadily shrinks, finally touching 2 per cent in the group normally earning $50.00 and over. When one compares insurance premiums with actual earnings, plus relief from all sources, it is found that for the group under $10.00 in normal income, 5 per cent is spent on insurance. The percentage fluctuates somewhat erratically from that point on, averaging 4.5 per cent. It will be remembered that the general average for all income brackets combined is 4.5 per cent of total family income, plus relief, spent on insurance, or 6 per cent of normal income so spent.

TABLE IV

Number and Percentage of 528 Insured Families under Mothers' Assistance Agencies, by "Normal Income" and "Actual Earnings"

Income Group per Week	Families Classified According to Normal Income		Families Classified According to Actual Earnings	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Total families	528	100.0	528	100.0
Less than $10	119	22.5	185	35.0
$10–$13	85	16.1	102	19.3
14– 17	83	15.7	89	16.9
18– 23	81	15.3	71	13.4
24– 29	66	12.5	41	7.8
30– 35	48	9.1	25	4.7
36– 41	19	3.6	7	1.3
42– 49	13	2.5	4	0.8
50 and over	14	2.7	4	0.8

For your further interest, I show in Table IV how the 528 insured families are classified according to their normal income and actual earnings—*excluding* all relief from agencies or other sources. Naturally enough, there is sure to be a preponderant number of cases in the lower brackets.

Table V shows the distribution of premium payments in families whose normal incomes are under $15.00 per week and over $40.00 per week. Seventy per cent of these have insurance. Of the insured families cared for by family welfare agencies, and having incomes of less than $15.00 per week, 31.7 per cent pay premiums of over $1.00 per week. In similar families with normal incomes of over $40.00 per week, 65.5 per cent pay premiums of over $1.00 per week. In the mothers' assistance families, 44.9 per cent with normal incomes less than $15.00 per week, and 64.8 per cent with normal incomes of over $40.00 per week, pay $1.00 or more per week in premiums. Ninety per cent of these families have insurance.

TABLE V.

Distribution of Families Paying Life Insurance Premium	Family Welfare Agencies Normal Income per Week				Mothers' Assistance Agencies Normal Income per Week			
	$15 and Under		$40 and Over		$15 and Under		$40 and Over	
	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number
All families	......	576	......	247	......	304	......	37
Families having no life insurance	......	171	......	50	......	28	......	......
Families having life insurance	100.0	405	100.0	197	100.0	276	100.0	37
Premium less than 10c	.7	3	......	......	......	......	......	......
10c to 19c	6.2	25	1.5	3	3.6	10	......	......
20c to 29c	8.9	36	4.6	9	4.3	12	2.7	1
30c to 39c	6.9	28	4.1	8	4.0	11	......	......
40c to 49c	9.1	37	2.0	4	5.8	16	2.7	1
50c to 74c	20.0	81	11.7	23	15.2	42	13.5	5
75c to 99c	16.5	67	10.7	21	22.1	61	16.2	6
$1.00 to $1.24	13.1	53	12.2	24	20.3	56	27.0	10
1.25 to 1.49	6.7	27	13.7	27	10.5	29	......	......
1.50 to 1.74	4.2	17	8.1	16	5.8	16	13.5	5
1.75 to 1.99	3.0	12	5.1	10	4.3	12	10.8	4
2.00 to 2.49	3.2	13	10.2	20	2.9	8	10.8	4
2.50 to 2.99	.5	2	7.1	14	.7	2	2.7	1
3.00 and over	1.0	4	9.1	18	0.4	1	......	......

What interpretations are to be placed on these data? Are there any fundamental principles which we may set up as a guide for future action? With your permission, I shall endeavor to give my own conclusions, based on the statistics which the committee has gathered.

It appears that dependency in the United States requiring assistance from private or public agencies affects somewhat less than 2 per cent of the total population. Of this 2 per cent, about one-half of the individuals are uninsured, or, based on families, about one-third of the families have no insurance whatever. In the insured families, the amount of insurance, while large, is not enough to be of vital importance to insurance companies. It is of importance, out of all proportion to its size, to the agencies interested in these families and to the families themselves.

The insured families coming within the purview of welfare organizations divide themselves into two groups: families which, even when independent of outside aid, had incomes apparently insufficient to maintain an adequate physical standard of living, and families which, under normal conditions, had incomes sufficient to include life insurance in the budget.

With respect to the first group, it is difficult to determine what percentage of the total dependent families this group comprises. It is difficult to understand today how families in these low income groups have managed to subsist. If we take into consideration the fact that an income varying from $1,500.00 to $2,000.00 per annum is deemed the minimum for normal subsistence today, it seems to me clear that many of these families have bought insurance at the jeopardy of a decent standard of living. There can be little doubt as to what should be the attitude of both welfare organizations and insurance companies in regard to families of this group. Insurance in these homes should be deprecated, whether in dependent families or in those not dependent. The foundations of the home demand first of all provision of the necessities of life. By these I mean shelter, food, and clothing. Until these are provided, insurance and savings are out of the question.

It is significant, furthermore, to note that in these families there are many whose earnings, plus subsidies of societies, are inadequate to maintain the subsistence budget set up by the welfare organization. This is probably due in most instances to the financial inability of the society to make larger grants. Only after the society contributes enough to cover an adequate subsistence budget can the society consider the possibility of supplementing its grant to permit expenditures for insurance.

With respect to the second group, I am clearly of the opinion, as I have stated in the foregoing, that serious consideration should be given by welfare organizations to the continuation of insurance. These families have provided themselves with insurance protection at a time when they were able to do so. Whether this protection was obtained to avoid the possibility of pauper burial or in the hope of providing, through savings for old age and other contingencies is immaterial. The purpose in mind was protection. The family was able to include the cost of this protection in its budget. I believe it to be the function of the welfare organization to continue the insurance item in the budget which the society sets up, if the financial condition of the society at all enables it so to do.

A study of the attitudes of welfare agencies toward insurance shows widely divergent views as to the amount of insurance that should be carried and the purpose of carrying it. We have, on the one hand, a county board of child welfare demanding discontinuance of all life insurance in families in any way dependent upon it. On the other hand, we have a charity organization society requesting reconsideration of a rejected application of a dependent widow, on the ground that the woman was again in good health and the family needed insurance protection. In the main, welfare agencies have taken the position that the payment of life insurance premiums may well be considered part of the budget of a family, whether it be dependent or not.

Such payment may be classed not only with the curative but with the preventive phases of modern philanthropy. Today the welfare agency, as its name implies, is more than an organization for material relief. It has departments of child guidance, vocational training, psychiatry, nursing, and clinics for preventive medicine. All these have the underlying thought of preventing dependency from becoming chronic. It is in this group of preventive measures that life insurance has been placed.

If we assume that the present attitude allows for some insurance in most families, the next question to consider is whether we can lay down any principle as to the amount which an average family should expend for insurance. This is controversial indeed. Even we who are better circumstanced have not solved it for ourselves. I am confident that a survey of those present here would show that most of us were underinsured rather than overinsured. An income of $5,000.00 would justify an outlay of at least 10 per cent if you had a wife and minor children. And even this apparently large outlay would, in case of your death, give an income to your beneficiaries considerably less than your earnings.

Some years ago I empirically set up a standard of from 5 per cent to 10 per cent which the normal workingman's family might spend for life insurance. This was based on the average amounts which such families were spending and on the average wage in its relation to standards of living. More recently, Professor Phelps has suggested 5 per cent as a norm.

Today I am inclined to urge strongly a flexible rather than a fixed standard. Insurance and savings, as is the case with other items in the budget, require individual interpretation and adjustment to the family situation. The determination of the amount and kind of insurance is a case work problem, and any arbitrary percentage should furnish only a starting point.

In addition to the problem of best meeting the family needs for protection and saving and of adapting the expenses of such needs to a possible budget, there is the difficulty of the technical nature of insurance. Its essentials are not understood by the layman. It has the peculiarity that the age of the insured determines the cost. It involves a knowledge of actuarial science. The age of the policy is a determining factor in its value. Each state has its own insurance laws. The differences between whole life insurance and endowment insurance, the limitations in certain states regarding child insurance are intricate and involved. They are matters for the technician, the insurance expert.

There are essentials, however, that all social workers can learn and should learn out of justice to themselves and their clients. One of these is that all insurance after a certain length of time has a value. In Ordinary insurance this is true after the policy has been carried for two years; in Industrial, after three years. The value is usually a small amount of insurance but any changes in insurance policies should be such that advantage is taken of this value.

A second principle is that Whole Life insurance is approximately one-half as expensive as Endowment insurance. What type of policy is carried—Whole Life or Endowment—will depend upon the attitude of the agency toward savings and on the possible budget of the family.

A third principle is that an insurance policy is a contract between the insurance company and the individual. It cannot be changed except by the consent of the insured. No matter how unanimous the insurance company and the welfare agency may be in their plans for changing the insurance, they cannot do so without first having the consent of the insured.

It is the irony of the situation that welfare agencies have realized the need of professional advice and cooperation in all their activities, with the exception of insurance. For the medical problems in the families in their care, the physician is consulted. Legal problems in the home are referred to a lawyer. The determination of the education of children results from conference with the teacher. The insurance problems in the home are still solved by rule of thumb!

Possibly the simplest way to bring some of these difficulties to your notice would be to cite one or two typical examples from the schedules which were sent to the committee from the various agencies. I have before me the schedule of an Italian family, consisting of a widow and two children aged sixteen and thirteen. The mother works in a factory; the children go to school. They have ten Industrial policies with premiums of $2.00 a week. Of the ten policies, one was taken out in 1926, the year in which the case was opened by the welfare agency. The other policies were taken out previously. One policy on the life of the mother dates back to 1912. Of the policies, three are on the life of the mother, four on the life of the son aged sixteen, and three on the life of the thirteen-year-old daughter. Two of the policies on the life of the mother are Whole Life policies; one is a twenty-year Endowment. The policies on the children are twenty-year Endowments.

The family budget is $109.00 per month. The family receives $26.00 per month from the agency and $25.00 from the mother's brother. The mother earns $12.00 per week. Total income is approximately $100.00 per month, or $9.00 less than the family budget, including insurance.

What shall the family agency do in this case? You will see how difficult it is to lay out an adequate program without further data regarding the amount of protection afforded in the policies in force in this family. It is probable that a readjustment of the insurance might enable the family to continue a measure of the protection which they have and at the same time reduce the premiums. In this readjustment consideration would have to be given to the age and health of the mother and the future of the children.

As an example of what I have in mind, let me cite the case of a family in which such readjustment was made. The family, which had been altogether independent, came to the notice of the welfare agency owing to the illness of the father. The family consisted of the parents and six children ranging in ages from one to thirteen. There were two policies on the life of the mother, each for $330.00, with a weekly premium of 50 cents. When the matter was brought to the notice of the insurance company, one of these policies was canceled and the premiums paid to date were refunded. The other policy was reissued as a Whole Life policy for $420.00 with a weekly premium of 25 cents. There were six twenty-year Endowment policies on the children, each for $250.00, with a weekly premium of 25 cents. These were converted to Whole Life policies for approximately the same amount of insurance, but with weekly premiums of 10 cents, a refund being made to the family for the difference in premium. The adjustment resulted in the family having insurance for all its members for amounts slightly in excess of the former insurance, but with a reduction in weekly premium from $2.50 to 85 cents, and a cash refund of $137.38.

I have cited these two instances to emphasize the necessity of obtaining definite information regarding the age and values of the insurance policies. These, taken together with the social histories, make it possible to work out a program for the family's future. The data regarding insurance can be obtained from insurance companies. Cooperation between the welfare agency and the insurance company is a *sine qua non.* Many agencies have already effected such cooperation with beneficial results to the families in their charge.

As far as the insurance companies are concerned, I think I may bespeak their willingness to cooperate in every way. They have realized for some time certain of the difficulties which welfare agencies are meeting. The willingness to make the present study is indicative of their attitude. They are mindful of the fact that, in a number of cases shown in the foregoing, families are carrying insurance in excess of their ability to pay. This is particularly true in the low income groups. They are desirous of remedying this situation. Probably additional studies may be deemed desirable, though we have enough facts now to agree that there is a situation which requires a setting up of standards by agencies, probably with a subsequent adjustment on the part of insurance companies. The first move must be made by the agencies. Assuming the recognition of the insurance principle for all families, whether dependent or not, insurance companies are prepared to place their machinery at the disposal of the welfare agencies in every possible way, so that a just and equable determination can be arrived at of greatest benefit to the families for whom both the welfare agencies and the insurance companies have a decided responsibility of stewardship.

The situation could probably best be met if the National Conference of Social Work were to authorize the appointment of a standing committee in the Division on the Family which should cooperate with a similar committee appointed by insurance companies. Such a joint committee should take up the various problems which are arising from time to time in connection with insurance in dependent families and eventually work out a procedure which would be satisfactory to both groups.

Among the first tasks of such a joint committee would be the preparation of a handbook on insurance for the use of social workers. This would describe in simple phraseology the important technical matters incidental to insurance. Such a joint committee might likewise work out a basis upon which individual welfare societies might obtain the benefit of the best insurance advice in their respective communities, so that an intelligent solution of the problem of insurance of families in care of welfare agencies could be worked out. I think I may safely assure the cooperation of insurance companies in the formation of such a committee.

LIFE INSURANCE IN DEPENDENT FAMILIES

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IN ADDITION to the principles set forth by Dr. Frankel, I should like to discuss lapsed policies first, because we are finding in our day-by-day work that this large number of families with lapsed insurance presents a surprising amount of value in policies thought to be worthless.

The significance of lapsed insurance naturally depends upon an understanding of the principles and operation of the non-forfeiture features in the policy. Although it is generally known that by some means or other a life insurance policy accumulates a cash value, comparatively few families seem to have heard of the two better surrender values, i.e., paid up insurance and extended term insurance. Industrial insurance is essentially burial insurance. Its cash value is only a fraction of its paid up value and obviously not to the policyholder's advantage. It seems rarely, if ever, an advisable surrender.

Paid up insurance and extended term insurance should not be confused with cash value. Paid up insurance means insurance fully paid up for a reduced amount of the policy, paid up for life and payable at death to the beneficiary without further premium cost. Extended term insurance, or extended insurance, is insurance extended for a definite period of years, weeks, or days for the amount of insurance stated in the policy without further premium cost, and payable in full to the beneficiary should the insured die within the specified period. If the insured outlives this extended period, his policy has no value unless it is an endowment policy with a surplus of value which is then paid in cash to the insured in what is called "pure cash endowment." In our state both paid up insurance and extended insurance apply after policies have been in force three years. Neither of these better non-forfeiture values gives the insured something for nothing; he has paid for this equity, but our experience indicates that as a rule he seldom knows it. Thrift and honesty teach us not to expect something for nothing; therefore, discontinuances of the regular premium is often thought to be synonymous with no protection.

We found 59 per cent of the 155 families studied by the Provident Association of St. Louis as our share in the study described by Dr. Frankel, had more known premiums lapsed than the combined premiums in force on all families. The waste is obvious. The waste in lapsed policies over three years old, destroyed because they are considered worthless, might be a point worth further study. Our experience shows us the importance of understanding that Ordinary insurance two years old, and Industrial life insurance as well as Health and Accident insurance with a life feature, when sold under the stipulated premium laws of our state and carried for three or more years at time of lapse, have surrender values frequently unknown to our clients. Either a serious physical diagnosis and prognosis or any contemplated change in the insurance item of the budget indicates sufficient reason for a searching estimation of lapsed policy history. Such an inquiry is especially important and should be made at once in event of a death.

Increasing the relief to dependent families by supplementing their own earning to make possible a more adequate standard of living and also include insurance cannot necessarily obligate the family society to spend public funds for the accumulation of savings insurance or paid up estates. The family's need of community support for the necessities makes a savings account at public expense impossible. This need not necessarily destroy the psychology of thrift in insurance since through Whole Life policies more protection can be had for the same premiums and the entire protection need not be spent on funeral display.

The amount of insurance involved in dependent families may not in itself be of vital importance to the companies, but the agents who collect upon a commission basis remind us of its importance to them.

Mrs. Clay has more than $1,000 in small weekly policies costing 80 cents a week. Her three children are in their teens, and each has two endowments and a twenty-payment life policy. Mrs. Clay is needing long continued convalescent care because of her past efforts to maintain her family for several years on inadequate earnings. They will be dependent upon community resources for some time, and premiums are more than $88 a year for four persons. Emphasis should be placed apparently upon Mrs. Clay's insurance and provision made for it in the budget, but contingent upon her naming the children as beneficiaries to safeguard their benefit from the policies through guardianship. The children's policies provide from seven to sixteen years extended insurance during which time the children will remain amply protected until they are able to provide their own insurance. The agent to whom the visitor paid premiums, as well as his superintendent, objected to the visitor explaining her understanding of extended insurance priviliges to the family for the reason that once known it would spread over the neighborhood and the company thereby would lose more than $25 worth of business. They consider it meddlesome agitation against the company's business for the family society to explain the extended insurance or the paid up provisions in the policy to dependent families.

Cases such as this, as well as conflicting advice given us by local officers of the same company, force us frequently to consult the company's home office for advice and help rather than the local office. However, if given a professional attitude on the part of insurance representatives and social workers as well, we know the happier results mentioned by Dr. Frankel may be obtained.

The rights of the insured under his policy and the state laws should be understood by case workers whether the policies are in force or lapsed. The client's own ignorance of his legitimate rights and privileges and his inability to make himself articulate sometimes cause his privileges to drop out of sight. The social worker may have the assistance of the state department of insurance as she is now assisted in other respects by municipal departments. The regulation of insurance through the state department of insurance safeguards the right of the insured as well as that of the insurance company. The case worker may be advised by this department about the regulation of insurance in her state.

Whatever may have been the earlier attitude of family welfare societies toward insurance for dependent families, the extent of insurance makes it no longer possible to ignore it entirely as something we do not understand or to set up rules against its appearance in the budget. Apparently about 48 per cent of the 155 families bought insurance while dependent. The insurance may well receive the case worker's attention so that a suitable and intelligent consideration can be given its conservation when premiums are out of all proportion to previous history of income and present or future budget, or when a serious physical ailment threatens insurability or continued income and results in extended dependency. The actual process presupposes ability to read and understand a policy, to appreciate its technical aspects, and to know how to obtain the advice the client needs. The procedure by which we make possible the client's continued security in his insurance depends, first, upon our skill in placing the facts before the client, so he knows his right and privileges; and, second, upon the degree to which we can count upon the insurance company's active professional responsibility in helping us work out suitable adjustments with those in the community who need our joint services.

THE PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF THE FAMILY CASE WORKER

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PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE FAMILY FIELD

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ALL family agencies probably feel that the number of school graduates is too small for the needs of the field. The responsibility for this inadequacy rests equally on schools and agencies. Family agencies have been slow to realize that even the school job cannot be done by the school alone. There is need that schools and agencies should agree upon what they mean by training for social work and upon what each group can contribute. The training of professional social case workers cannot be effective if there are two programs, one planned by the schools, the other by the agencies in which the students not only get part of their training but in which later they will be employed as practitioners. The training program should be a unit, with school and agency each making the contribution for which it is best equipped. A lack of vision or of practical equipment on the part of either will hamper the other and the program as a whole will suffer. If we could say that the school's part is to teach theory and the agency's to give practice, our task would be comparatively simple, but such a limitation of functions would result in even greater chaos than we have now. The trouble—if trouble it is—is that both school and agency must contribute to both theory and practice.

Speaking now from the point of view of the family agency, and recognizing the limitations of what we can give or have given to the training program, some of us are agreed that the school should be equipped to make the major contribution along the following lines—with the family agency aiding and abetting and supplementing, although not carrying the responsibility: First, the school can, and probably should, offer leadership in developing a training program. Its job is specifically to teach and train. It can analyze and evaluate, and from its hilltop of academic perspective can vision society as a whole and the contribution of social work in meeting social needs. However, it will not go very far in this program unless it draws the practical experience of the field into its councils. This can be achieved partly by frequent conferences between school faculty and agency staff and partly by having practicing social workers on the school staff as teachers of social work. By "practicing" I do not mean to imply that faculty members should be giving part time to the school and part to an agency, though this has sometimes proved successful. I mean rather that teachers of social work should have had a grounding in practical experience in the field, and that they should have opportunity to renew their experience from time to time. Leave of absence on pay which may be spent carrying a regular job in an agency, or some plan whereby a staff worker from an agency would change places with a faculty member for a period of three months or longer, should be possible. And I would suggest that the renewal of practical experience should take place in some city other than that in which the school is located. Social work, like most human effort, tends to become ingrowing and provincial. We are in danger of having brands of social work named after this, that, or the other city or school. Such provincialism militates against sound professional development.

Part of our present provincialism is due to another factor which the schools might help us to overcome. The majority of school graduates, according to Sydnor Walker, find employment in or near the city where the school is located. We need to develop greater mobility, a cosmopolitanism (and by that I do not mean frequent changes), for as long as the general public (and some social workers) believe that social case work is merely the manipulation of resources, it will be assumed that a worker who has had his training in a given city will be equipped to work only with the resources of that particular community. Social case work makes use of resources, of course, but it is primarily "a search for truth for creative purposes in the personality of the client and in all his relationships."

As part of its leadership function, the school should take the initiative in determining requirements for entrance to the school, which should be in actuality entrance to the profession. A professional school will be most successful if its students are not too widely different in maturity of mind and in educational background. A college degree or as much work as possible of college grade would seem desirable preliminaries to professional training, and there should be some agreement among schools and agencies as to the prevocational courses that should have been completed. We must remember, however, that too early specialization has serious dangers, and cultural values are of prime importance in a profession which calls for imagination, flexibility, and an understanding of human needs and aspirations. The standards of admission to schools of social work will influence the standards of candidates for apprentice training—if we still have to have apprentice training!

What do family agencies want the school to teach? Well, I warn you they want it to teach much more than can possibly be crammed into a one or two year course. In fact, their demands assume a lifetime devoted to professional training. That isn't quite as fantastic as it sounds if we agree that our primary demand of the school is that it give its graduates a professional attitude of mind, a concept of social case work as a profession, rather than training for a specific job. A professional attitude of mind is not a thing apart. It includes the lay attitude and adds to it a plus whose value is increased, as well as increasing, by what might be termed the original equation. A professional attitude of mind as I see it implies that training is a continuous process which has only been begun in the school. It suggests the obligation to keep in touch with current discoveries and practices in social work and in the sciences which will enrich one's own professional activities. Such an attitude of mind assumes that social work is dynamic, changing with a changing world, and doing away with "the dull saw that is the routine mind."

A worker who is truly professional will feel an obligation to contribute out of his own practice to the content and skills of his profession. The prerogatives of a profession are indissolubly tied up with its obligations. Neither are attainable without the other. The cultivation of a professional point of view is fundamental to the other contributions which we feel the school can make to the training program. Indeed, the subject matter of the curriculum and the pedagogical method will, it seems to me, be largely determined by this major objective.

I have no desire to draft an ideal curriculum for an ideal school. It is possible, however, to suggest some of the things which can be taught more effectively in the classroom than through supervised field experience, which is the agency's responsibility. Whether this material will be taught through the medium of one, two, or fifty courses, I do not presume to say: I can only attempt to define its area.

A school can give its students perspective, which carries with it an understanding of the function of social work as a profession, the place of social case work as a specialty within social work, and of family case work as a specific adaptation of social case work. As I see it, perspective includes something of the historical background of social work and of society; a sense of the community as a whole, not just of one section of it under a microscope; a picture of social work as a whole with its major emphases related to each other. Perspective implies philosophy, and an understanding of norms for the teaching of which the classroom, with its opportunity for free discussion, offers special facilities. The school, because it brings together wide experience and many different points of view in its faculty is in a better position than the agency to correct the subjective interpretation of norms based on the student's early education and family or group tradition.

There are also certain techniques which are fundamental to social work as a whole. The philosophy of organization, the place and function of the volunteer, and some of the methods which are peculiar to organizations for social work, a vision, if not actual practice, of ways of meeting some of the problems of administering social work agencies can be given in the classroom. The school may even try to arrange for practice work in administration, for, as someone remarked recently, five minutes with a board is worth a month of theorizing. The philosophy and something of the practice of division of labor as between different agencies, a comprehension of the community responsibility of the social worker, some of the methods of management of personnel can be brought out in lectures and discussions, and will form a foundation on which the worker will later build his practical efforts. The school also is best equipped to show how the material of the social sciences and allied fields may be adapted and utilized in social work practice.

I have so far used the term social worker, because it seems to me essential that the school should give its students first of all a sense that they are social workers, but I do not mean that this will be given necessarily in separate courses. Indeed, a sense of the unity of the social work job and all the material we have so far suggested may be successfully developed as a by-product of discussions of the content and practice of social case work. All of these intangibles I have mentioned can be given better by the school than by even the best system of apprentice training, partly because the school has a wider range of experience on its faculty, and partly because in its relationship to the different social agencies it can work out plans for varied field work experiences which are essential to a grasp of social work as a unified effort.

In teaching both the subject matter and the method of social case work, the school and the agency giving field work enter into an important working partnership. Indeed, if we believe that "all professional education finds its chief educational focus in the use by the student of what he is learning," we shall think of the supervised field work in an agency as part of the school curriculum. The agency's supervisor of student field work then becomes in reality a member of the school faculty and should meet the faculty requirements in equipment not only as a qualified social case worker but as a teacher. The correlation of the teaching of the school with the practice teaching of the agency is an administrative detail with the major initiative resting on the school. Regular conferences between supervisors of field work and teachers and some provision for frequent informal interchange will be necessary to insure a synthesis of the subject matter of classroom and field practice. There should be no occasion for such a complaint as that of a recent student who said, "The agency doesn't give you a chance to do the things you have been taught in the classroom."

What does the family agency want a graduate of a school who joins its staff to know about the social case work job? The family agency will be wise if it realizes that it needs first of all just what other agencies doing social case work need: a foundation on which can be built the special knowledge and special skills required for its specific function. The adaptation of social case work to the requirements of a specific field may be learned after the worker is on the job. Here again we shall be foresighted if we ask for a familiarity with the underlying principles of social case work rather than expertness in skills: a comprehension of the area in which social case work is or may be effective, of the methods which it utilizes, and the philosophy which underlies these methods.

If we may take the conclusions of the *Milford Conference Report* for purposes of discussion only, this comprehension will include at least the following: first, knowledge of typical deviations from accepted standards of social life which interfere with the individual's ability to organize his own social activities, such as alcoholism, child marriage, family antagonisms, family dependency; second, the use of norms of human life and human relationship such as our norm of an age for marriage, of family relationships, of economic sufficiency; third, the significance of social history as the basis of particularizing the human being in need, such as what social case workers need to know and why; fourth, established methods of study and treatment of human beings in need, such as interviewing, investigation and observation, the economic and psychic implications of relief giving, and so on; fifth, the use of established community resources in social treatment, such as churches, schools, and others; sixth, the adaptation of scientific knowledge and formulation of experience to the requisites of social case work, economics, psychiatry, education, to mention only a few; seventh, the consciousness of a philosophy which determines the purposes, such as ethics and the obligations of social case work; eighth, the blending of all these in social treatment, which involves the use by the social case worker of social and community resources which have a part in the adjustment of the individual to social living, awakening in the client an understanding of his difficulties and a desire to cope with them, and helping him develop the ability to work out his own social program.

Implicit in the content of social case work is a realization that it treats, not problems, but people. The student should have an understanding of social case work objectives, both immediate and ultimate, and of the dynamic quality of the worker client relationship. Is it possible by a combination of classroom and field experience to give the student a sense that social case work is a pioneering venture in understanding the relations between human beings as potential factors in developing effective personalities? Too often the briefness of the school training—even when it is two years—tends to give the student a feeling that social case work is merely a breathless jumping from errand to errand, a series of isolated activities without any particular focus. It seems too often merely a mastery of routine, a cleverness in the manipulation of resources to attain some immediate end. It will need the combined skill of classroom instructor and field work supervisor to avoid this sense of futility and to give instead a sense of continuity and a realization that the separate units of social case work skills must be combined into a whole if it is to be social case work at all. It is the part of the school to make sure that the student has as much opportunity as limited time permits to follow through with a client from the first contact to the final eventuation of a plan of treatment. The training period should offer variety of experience and frequent occasion for the student to use creatively what he has learned in behalf of individuals. He should be given opportunity to experience the testing of theory either through applying it in his own work or through classroom discussion of the work of others. Interpretation of what he does in terms of theory and of theory in terms of its practical application will be like a shuttle weaving the various aspects of his school experience into one fabric. Experience in more than one field of case work—psychiatric, children's, medical, family, and so on—will give the student much better equipment for his work even in a specialized field than will field work limited to one type of agency.

Skill in analysis, which is quite as much a habit of mind as it is a method of work, will be part of the school graduate's equipment. Out of a project study, no matter how simple, provided it grows out of his field work, the student will get not only ability in organizing material, an appreciation of research method and of the value of facts, but also an awareness of the function of research in releasing the discoveries of social case work for wider use than that of helping just those individuals who have been under the care of a given agency.

We realize that we cannot expect school graduates to have exact similarity of equipment even when they have undergone an identical educational process. The student should, however, have begun at least to understand that case work skills are to a degree the directed use of his own developed capacities. Imagination, observation, insight have a different part to play in social case work than in some other professions. Mr. Lee uses the word "range" to suggest an essential capacity of the case worker.

An awareness of where his equipment needs supplementing from expert sources is as important (if not more so) as the student's mastery of a definite body of knowledge. Part of this awareness will come when he adapts himself to a specific job, and the school can do much to make this transition period easy for both agency and worker. The student who has learned during his training period how to organize his own work, how to adapt himself to the demands of an organization, how to apply case work principles in his relations with fellow workers as well as clients will not find himself completely overwhelmed in an actual job in which the pressing needs of human beings demand that he do something and do it quickly. If the school can help the family agency and the case worker realize that the school graduate is not a trained family case worker, the induction into a job will be easier. The family agency will then be better able to help the worker adapt his knowledge to the particular task, to help him develop his potentialities, and the school will not be criticized for turning out poor or untrained workers. Incidentally, the staff turnover of family agencies would be reduced. Perhaps if we agreed to think of the first year or two after graduation as interneship years, student, school, and agency would all have different attitudes.

If the school has had as a major objective the development of a professional attitude on the part of the student, the school certainly has a stake in some provision for the continuance of training after graduation. The development of advanced courses for workers on the job, of short time extension courses and of study groups, some of which might be conducted in nearby cities as well as in the city where the school is located, would be of tremendous value to the profession; indeed, might make us a profession! If these courses were open to other than school graduates, they could be planned so that they would presuppose a certain amount of practical experience and would focus less on introductory phases than would courses planned for students fresh from college. No group needs stimulation more than the case worker (whether school graduate or not) who has been on the job three years or more. A recent study of staff turnover made by the Personnel Committee of the American Association for organizing Family Social Work shows that 96 out of 704 case workers left their positions close to the three-year period because, according to the agency's statement, they wanted to study, to broaden their experience, or to get further training. The number seems sufficient to warrant special consideration by the schools.

Similarly, during the last year the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work has had numerous requests to conduct study groups in social case work in cities where there is no school of social work. Even if the Association were equipped (which it is not) to meet these demands, would it not be better from every point of view to have the school conduct or be responsible for such courses, and thus integrate them with the professional training school program?

I have spoken primarily of what we hope the school can give to its regular students. But we have other professional needs on which we want the thinking of the school. We cannot, today at least, abolish apprentice training. The total number of school graduates is still too small to meet the demand for workers in the family field. Will the schools help us to make apprentice training better? Where there is a school near the training agency, the school might help work out plans so that the apprentices might take one or two courses a year in the school. This would help to maintain equal standards, so far as preliminary equipment is concerned, for school students and apprentices. Where there is no school accessible to the training agency, could we hope to get from some school, or from a group within the association of professional schools, some help in planning study courses and reading lists for our apprentice workers? Certainly it is to the interest of the profession as a whole that apprentice training, if it is needed, should be as good as possible. It would be essential, of course, to incorporate in our program plans for the gradual absorption of apprentice training schemes into the schools.

I come back to the point from which I started—the interest of the school and of the family agency in professional training is identical. There must be a continuing partnership, a constant give and take. The school by its requests for teaching material, by its insistence on analysis and evaluation of method, by the results of its research in social case work, stimulates the agency to higher standards of work, better thinking, and an examination of its underlying philosophy. The family agency needs the vision of the school so that young, ill-equipped workers shall not be exploited. The school needs the family agency to keep clear the channels of experimentation between theory and practice. Each, if the partnership is nicely balanced, keeps the other from getting into a rut. The agency keeps the school fom becoming too academic and out of touch with reality; the school keeps the agency from being a slave to expediency. Professional training in social case work is a joint enterprise and since social case work is dynamic, changing, growing with changing needs and developing concepts, the two partners in the enterprise must keep pace with one another and with practical and philosophic discoveries.

At the National Conference in Toronto in 1897, more than thirty years ago, a family social worker spoke in favor of organizing a professional training school.[1] "Some of us," she said, "will think that a training school is impracticable until we have acquired a professional standard, and others will think that we can never acquire a professional standard until we have the school."

She did not stress particularly the benefit to the family field which would come from better trained workers, but she did speak of what the young people "of high character and unusual attainments" whom we want in the profession have a right to demand

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[1] *National Conference of Charities and Corrections,* XXIV, 182.

—"further opportunities for education and development and incidentally the right to earn a living." The need of these young people she felt was more important than any one system of training, than the demands of any one job. She suggested—in terminology that seems a little antiquated to us now—a function for a school of social work which we have not yet outgrown.

> But more important than any training in detail is the opportunity which a good school would offer for the development of higher ideals of charitable service. "Ideals are catching" someone has said. How important, then, to send our young people, our future workers, where ideals can be "caught"! To give our professional charity workers better habits of thought and higher ideals, this should be the chief aim of our School of Applied Philanthropy.

TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SCHOOL

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A FULL generation has passed since the first attempt was made to train social workers. Measured by the distance which must be covered before professional status is achieved, a generation is a short time. This one has had the complex task of defining the field, developing the social sciences, experimenting in the practice of influencing human behavior, and teaching that practice. This is probably more than any one generation can accomplish. On the other hand, it is not quite fair to the other professions to hug to ourselves the consolation afforded by the long periods during which they made but imperceptible progress. Their art goes back into prescientific days. When ours emerged from the era of automatic responses, the scientific method had been well established and beginnings were made in applying it to the field of social relations. We had a degree of skilful guidance in method which was denied the older disciplines. If that guidance was at times faltering, and even occasionally in error, yet it has given us a unique advantage. Then, too, many of our practitioners were disciplined men and women, trained in the scientific method and the professional procedures of the older callings. They were well equipped to bring this new profession into being with skill and celerity.

Possibly one thing more should be said in these introductory paragraphs. The application of scientific methods in our field has been attended with unique difficulties—difficulties of which the exact sciences could tell us but little. The very concept of cause and effect is strangely different in social relations than in physical. The controlled laboratory experiment is not possible, and social statistics which was looked upon as its equivalent is found to be absent from entire areas of our field. You remember how the mariners who sailed with Columbus were appalled when they saw their infallible guide, the magnetic compass, behaving in unprecedented ways. As we use scientific methods in the field of human relations, those methods do not seem to yield the same results as they do in the exact sciences. It is one of the weaknesses of both the fields of social theory and social practice that they have not been sufficiently impressed by these differences and the resulting changes in method which should be undertaken.

May I review with you a few facts? In these thirty or more years, the number of training centers for social work has risen to between thirty and forty, with many excellent courses given in other universities and colleges. Without exception these training centers are on the basis of academic years, not planned as summer courses, and most of them offer a curriculum of two years, while some have stretched it to three.

Miss Sydnor Walker estimates that these various training centers turn out 400 graduates each year. However, she couples that statement with the estimate of 20,000 practicing social workers in the country. Her estimate of a 10 per cent turnover is admittedly too low, but even then the supply reaches but 20 per cent of the demand. If the figure of a 20 per cent turnover is used, and that is still low, then in all probability the supply is only 10 per cent of the demand. To this must be added the fact that the graduates of our stronger and older schools do not as a rule step into the rank and file positions in our social agencies. They take research jobs with state or federal boards, subexecutive jobs with well established social agencies, and some, especially the men, step in far too many instances into responsible executive positions. Porter R. Lee gives a cheering side of this picture, which, if it is true of all training centers, argues well for the stability of the trained personnel in the profession. He tells us that of all who have taken the full course in the New York school, only 3 per cent have left social work for other professions. There is not another profession except that of medicine that comes anywhere near to that stability.

It must be obvious from the foregoing that the day-by-day tasks of social work are done by amateurs or apprentices, or by untrained people. This inference is amply borne out by an inspection of the facts, such as a study of the preparation of the personnel on any staff, or by listening to the papers and discussions at any local or national conference of social work, or by examining the records of those who apply for membership in the American Association of Social Workers.

Both agencies and schools have said a great deal about the vicious circle created by the schools not turning out enough graduates to staff the agencies, and the latter have therefore to employ other than graduates of training schools; which in turn connotes that if likely college graduates may secure positions without any professional preparation they can see no reason why they should go to a training school. This tendency is said to have progressed so far in certain sections that the agencies, not the schools, get the better grade of college graduate. Some such situation is likely to arise when recruiting for social work is entirely in the hands of the social agencies.

There are two possible solutions for this dilemma. The agencies control the decision as to which will be used, or if any attempt is to be made to face the situation. We can go on as we are, depending upon the superiority of the school trainee to create an increasing demand for him (or for her) until the trained will supplant the untrained by the process of survival of the fittest. On the other hand, if the agencies really want trained workers, or, not to beg the question, if they want the graduates of the training schools, they are in a position to secure them.

The Board of Child Welfare of the state of Alabama requires that all the county executives be trained social workers. It was no more able than any other agency to create trained social workers by the device of passing a law. However, meaning exactly what it said, the Board defined training, and then made no permanent appointments until those who wanted the positions qualified for them. The appointments are probationary and within a certain length of time the probationer must have taken the required amount of training in specified schools, for which leaves of absence are granted. This is a simple and effective way to cut the vicious circle.

Or the matter may be approached in another way. The majority enter the social case work field by the apprenticeship route. If this method is a rival of the school, and if those who acquire their skill on the job turn out satisfactorily, why should not the agencies frankly admit the fact and plan their work accordingly? The logic of such a position would require at least the following modifications in present customs: first, the apprentice should join the staff as one joins a school, without salary, and possibly on the payment of a tuition fee; second, the apprenticeship should not carry the case load of the agency. Not having to pay a salary during the period of apprenticeship, the budget of the agency would be released to employ workers who had proved their capacity through the apprenticeship or the training school method. This would insure a real training to those whom the agency takes on for that purpose, by enabling the agency to adjust the tasks assumed by the trainees in accordance with their needs rather than with the necessities of the agency. So long as an agency offers training by apprenticeship, and then carries on any considerable portion of its case load by means of these apprentices, there is an element of dishonesty in the system. The experience of schools in the field work of their students does not justify the expectation that the person whose presence in an agency is that of a learner is able to add to the personnel resources of an agency much more than enough to compensate for the time and skill spent upon his supervision. The inference is unavoidable that if an agency does carry on any considerable portion of its work by trainees, it is not acting squarely by them; they are not being prepared to do the job in competition with the school-trained candidates and the agencies are not meeting even a low educational condition. The only other possible conclusion is that the standards of performance in social work are so low that any well educated person with certain personal qualifications can master them by participation under supervision. The acceptance of this last conclusion (which after all may be the honest one) would exclude us from the possibility of a professional status.

There is a vexatious problem connected with the time element in the matter of demand and supply, which the agencies must consider. Family agencies need their workers in the winter; schools graduate their classes six months later—just as far from the time of need as if it had been diabolically planned. Some have answered this by the observation that if schools would accept beginning students at each term (quarter or semester), there would then be a supply every three or four months. But even such universities as Chicago, which have had the four-quarter system in operation for years, graduate more at the end of the Spring Quarter than at any other time. The reason is that the whole educational system is geared to the academic year. The person who makes regular progress will finish each stage in June. One who has watched the stream of students in a university knows that most of the best of them make their vocational choices while on the campus and wish to complete their training as soon after graduation as possible. They can be secured for social work then. It is a hundred-to-one shot that any one of them will ever find himself in social work if he chooses another field after graduation from college. Please keep in mind that this refers only to the best college students, those who will make a success of anything they undertake.

This means that, in spite of the interesting modifications of the rule at Chicago and New York, if there is an adequate supply of trained material sent out by the schools, it will be ready in June and will not be able to wait until December to be employed. On this point the solution rests with the agencies. The schools are powerless.

A professional technique is based at least upon the following pillars: first, a full knowledge of the sciences whose researches have thrown light upon the nature of the material with which the profession is concerned, which includes knowledge of the methods of such sciences, the extent to which researches have gone, a knowledge of the scientific laws which have been formulated, as well as those aspects of the subjects on which knowledge still waits for future research; second, a knowledge of the historical reach of the subject, acquaintanceship with what men have done in the field, the contributions of those who pioneered in its early professional efforts, their failures and their successes, their philosophy and the limits of their knowledge; third, a philosophy of the entire area of action and thought to enable one to assimilate the widely varied and at times conflicting data into a workable professional program, adequate to meet the demands of one's task, so far as adequacy is attainable and ethical with regard to one's relationships and to oneself.

This, of course, is the hub of the discussion. If field and school could agree on the content of the foregoing, of the theoretical side, so called, we should answer this question of training in short order. But they are not agreed, and there is little chance of their soon becoming so. I am all the more certain of this in view of four years' work on two committees which in succession have been struggling with membership qualifications of the American Association of Social Workers. I wish, however, to make a few comments.

Whether aware of it or not, each of us has a philosophy of his work. It is an ethical and intellectual formulation by which we state our reasons for the actions we undertake and the goals toward which we are progressing. This philosophy may be formulated in two ways: by the method of individual experience with concepts growing and changing in response to new experiences; or by the method of study of what others have thought and believed. The latter method, too, will grow and be enriched by one's own experience. The first is, in general, called empirical; the second, scientific. It is no fatal criticism against us to say that ours has been the empirical method. We have learned as we have gone along. Of course empiricism, persisted in long enough and with full exchange of experiences and philosophies between practitioners, will in time take on a professional aspect. But there are certain serious limitations to the empirical method which should lead us to avoid it if possible. We might paraphrase the address of our president, Porter Lee, by the statement that so long as social work remains a cause, empiricism is an adequate method, but when it becomes a function, then it must be based upon science.

Users of the empirical method are apt to look upon themselves as practical, and to think they need not be bothered by theory. They have an efficient method of meeting their problems, and are inclined to look suspiciously upon so called theorists, unconscious that they themselves have theories which dominate their methods. One of the writers of a vocational pamphlet of the American Association of Social Workers said that social agencies preferred college graduates "who had not over-specialized in the social sciences." Let us be perfectly frank on this point. Such an attitude is our old psychiatric friend, the defense mechanism. It is a universal phenomenon when a scientific theory is developing alongside of a group of empirical ones. It means that, unwilling to admit that we have no adequate scientific basis for our theory, we deny the value of theory in itself, and usually go the entire distance of claiming that we have no theory of our own. This clearly is not good mental hygiene on which to build professional development.

A field of effort such as ours in which the philosophy of its practitioners is created by the empirical method will be split up, potentially, into as many philosophies as there are practitioners and actually into as many as there are forceful leaders. And does not that statement about sum up our situation at present? You know how hard it is for us even to define what social work is, to say nothing of what it aims to accomplish. We are provincial to a greater degree than any single social worker realizes, and because we have not produced a literature by which the isolated groups of "earnest thinkers" might share their conclusions with each other, we are tending to become more rather than less provincial.

The situation, however, is even more serious than that. For the most part, the leaders in social work of the generation that is passing came into the field from other professions, trailing, if not exactly "clouds of glory" with them, at least the philosophies and disciplines of their earlier training. We have economists, biologists, attorneys, teachers, and ministers, all transformed into good social workers, but each coming with a different content in that box of memories we call a mind, each with a different discipline emphasizing widely varying values. Each is right in his field, and each has a contribution to make to the field of social work. But as each still clings to his original philosophy, and as we have never developed a general one for social work, we have not as yet shown the capacity to achieve an effective unity.

Being empiricists from the start, we have developed a real technique—that of social case work—in one task that has faced us, and we are making rapid progress in hammering out the parts which are needed for group work. We therefore present the curious anomaly of a field with a carefully worked out technique, perhaps a better bit of workmanship than in some of the older professions, used by workers who have no philosophical or scientific unity or even a common language. This may be a natural way for a new profession to emerge. It certainly has some elements of reality which a development from theory to practice would not show, if it were possible to conceive of growth in that order. We do need to realize, however, in creating a new technique, and in practicing it over a sufficient length of time to demonstrate its availability for given social situations wherever they are met, that we have taken only one step on the long road which leads to professional status.

Of the third support of a profession, history, our field is almost entirely innocent. There is good reason for it, but it is a fatal defect from a professional point of view. We need to know how other men in other ages handled the problems of maladjustment, exploitation, and antisocial behavior. What were their theories? What sort of skills did they possess? There is a vast quantity of such material, probably greater in amount than even in the medical profession. Such studies are needed to give us poise, to give us a proper perspective, to save us from the delusion that knowledge was born in our day. Our field especially needs this saving grace of relativity. The crimes, the tragedy, the human sorrow, and degradation which press in upon us from all sides would be much more easily borne if we could regard them in the long perspective of the human race.

For fourteen years social work has been under the obsession of a phrase, "a technique capable of communication . . . . through an educational discipline." We have talked techniques; we have experimented in them; we have urged their mastery as the "be all and end all" of professional status. It is much like a small boy asking his father whether he is big enough yet to wear long trousers. To place technique as the hall mark of a profession is a perversion of values. Of course every profession must master its own technique, must ever make it more perfect by the most painstaking methods. But the development of a technique is not a measure of professional progress, and I do not think that Abraham Flexner meant it so to be understood. The absorption of our practitioners in that one respect—the craft aspect—of the professional status has seriously blocked our real professional development.

As many of you know, I was trained for another profession. I spent three years in a professional school after receiving my Bachelor's degree. Did those remarkable men at Yale who prepared me for the ministry believe that the way to train me for religious leadership was to equip me with techniques which would enable me successfully to accomplish the various tasks I should face when I became pastor of a church? If so, they kept it a deep, dark secret. In public speaking they did train me, although I always thought it was done somewhat shamefacedly. What did they teach me? They led me through the paths of historical and textual criticism—historical sciences. They trained me in the languages of the sacred writings so that I could use my own judgment in interpretation. They introduced me to the long records of men who through the ages had struggled with the mysteries of life and death, of sin and pain, of reward and punishment. I became acquainted with the problems they faced, the various answers they gave. Then my teachers attempted to summarize it into something which had unity and reasonableness, and then they sent me out. I should have been better equipped had I had some craftsmanship, but my professional status and capacity were not injured by its absence. I might stumble horribly in my method of consoling a mother who had lost a son, but the stumbling was on the superficial forms. On the possibilities of comfort, what could be said and what could not, I was certain as one can be. That is, I had a mastery of the professional material, even if not much skill in its usage, and I was therefore professional.

Some years ago I was taking a walk and came to an elevated railway structure in course of erection. I wanted to know which railway company it was part of, and asked a couple of painters. They had not the remotest idea. Yet they painted well. Their lack of perspective, their ignorance of the significance of the thing they were doing, in no way marred their excellency of craftsmanship.

Isn't this the test of the professional: that he has the capacity to relate the specific task in hand, which he is trained to do, to what men have learned and experienced in that subject; to relate the specific to the general; to have a richly endowed philosophy of his work?

If this argument is sound, then training for social work is just at its beginning. We have still much material of a scientific nature to assemble, and a great deal of historical delving before us. It must be equally obvious that as this material is gathered, and as its resulting philosophy is being slowly hammered out, the field will have to contribute largely to the school, but in the school primarily will the next generation of social workers find the opportunity to master those specific professional materials which they will need in order to acquire the certainty of touch, the long range perspective, the capacity to consider the problem which they face in relation to what mankind has thought and done, and that unity of philosophical values which will make them members of a recognized profession. The field will largely perfect the technician, but the school must create the professional.

UNEMPLOYMENT

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SOME NEW PROBLEMS FOR THE FAMILY AGENCY ARISING OUT OF INDUSTRY

Nell Scott, Case Supervisor, Family Welfare Association, Pittsburgh

THE family agency in a city where one industry is dominant has its problems intensified but perhaps simplified. In such a case it is as important for the worker to know the trends of policy development in the industry as in her own agency, to be as aware of industrial technical changes as she is of changed emphases in case work. It is rather easy to demonstrate this.

Whatever our statistical cards may mean it can be accepted as having some point that last year 60 per cent of the cases we analyzed had problems connected with employment, the year before 50 per cent, the year before that 55 per cent, and, going back, 62 and 69 per cent. In the county in which we work there are listed for the year 1927 (the last year for which such figures are available), 149,619 men employed as wage earners. Of that number 57,067 men are working in the primary metal industries, that is, the line of industry that we, at home, speak of as steel. It does not include the men employed in plants making finished products like gears, turbines, water heaters, electrical equipment. In one district of our society between one-third and one-fourth of our case load was in that one industry this last year at a time when there was no particular crisis to bring employment problems to the fore.

It still more concerns us since we have undertaken to cover the whole county. In each one of the four larger population centers in the county one mill dominates the town. The fact that it dominates is an accepted idea. In one instance the number of employees has been reduced permanently during the past two or three years, and in response to that the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce reported that there were one hundred empty stores and from four to five hundred empty houses. It is a matter of acute concern to us when automobile consumption by the population reaches its peak and begins to recede. Perhaps it does not matter so much to us as it does to Detroit, but automobile steel has for months had the first call in production, with structural steel and railroad equipment falling behind.

A community with undiversified industry would naturally feel much more heavily an old fashioned period of unemployment and depression. Much of the material written at the time of the last unemployment period, 1921–22, would not apply now. It was based on the assumption that the cyclical depression was a phenomenon with which we must continue to reckon. Charts and other material conceded a "seven-year movement." We always place 1893 as the year when men worked in the parks for $1.00 a day; we remember the 1901 depression; then that of 1907–8, when even the steel industry paid its men for a short time in scrip; then that of 1914, ending with the sudden boom for war products. During the period of 1921–22, in one district in one month we had 72 new cases reported; the same district in the corresponding month of this year had but 15 new cases. Now that we have arrived in 1929, the seven-year period seems to be safely over. Of course, it is not long enough to come to any rash conclusions, whether to believe it is the effect of the Federal Reserve System or is due to the fact that this generation has actually learned from its own experience.

It does make some difference that the industry is on such a firm foundation that it may be expected to pay all legitimate costs which might be charged against it. Perhaps the best known cost is the fact that the steel industry has little use for the man over forty-five or fifty. Some companies make forty-five the rigid line, some fifty. Others would tell you they have no dead line at all. Time was when the general statement would need proof, but I think industry now has reached the point where they are willing to be frank and say that in a basic industry, at least, the risk is too great to warrant the employing of a man above that age. One company seems to me to accept more than tacitly this idea in that they have lowered the pension age for the men in the abandoned plant from sixty to fifty-five. This means that if a man in a plant which is being discontinued has been employed for twenty-five years and is fifty-five years of age, he is then due to receive a pension, although 50 per cent lower than he would receive if he continued to be employed by them until he reached the age of sixty. To me this indicates that they assume that a man having been employed by one company from twenty-five to thirty years cannot expect at that age to obtain employment elsewhere, so that the first company, in granting the pension status, recognizes that condition, however meagerly.

This question of abandoned plants is one of our important problems and is especially tied up with the older men. It has come to a community as old in the steel making business as Pittsburgh, because the earlier plants with their old fashioned equipment were built near the center of the city where ground rents pushed up production costs. With the lapse of the old long-time leases the companies found it better business practice to concentrate in new units or enlarge already existing plants built further away from big business centers. The money paid in pensions to old employees of abandoned plants in the year 1928 by the United States Steel Corporation equaled $544,990.85. Over $528,000.00 of this was paid to employees of the plants in our own section. How many other men must have been affected by this dislocation of their industrial life! The pension scheme of the United States Steel Corporation may not be such a matter of course for the future. The fund originally established at twelve million dollars seemed more than adequate at the time. Now, it has reached a total of sixty million and will not be sufficient. The rumor is that some scheme involving direct participation by the workmen will be adopted. The pension scheme, under any circumstances, does not help the man who has had only nineteen years service, and is in middle life, or who in any way does not meet the eligibility rules. If it is hard to fit in such an individual in a city of diversified industry, how much harder in a community where one primary industry prevails! It means just that much impetus to join the margin of the unemployable.

Our statistics for child labor have been consistently low for the past ten years. In all that time we have never had more than 30 cases a year in which it appeared as a problem, in a possible case load of 5,000. Youth is not particularly profitable in steel. There are few processes now used in the steel industry in which apprenticeship is needed or utilized. In the early days the molder was a skilled man who served an apprenticeship of four years. Now, with the standardization of product, with the large production for given size and shape, one man's process is repeated many times so that he often does not need to learn the molding trade. The chipper, if he did not serve the same apprenticeship as a molder, did have to learn his art. Now, the industry makes little provision for teaching either molding or chipping by the apprenticeship method. The worker picks his process up. The same is true for the crane man, the tender of the open hearth, and the man at the hoist in the furnace. The youth whose muscles have not tightened and whose cartilage has not hardened has no point of beginning short of competition with the full grown man. Every employment man of whom I asked for months the same question agrees without reservation that the opportunity of selection was never better. Why should he therefore employ any but the man whose physical productivity is the highest? This leaves the boy of from sixteen to nineteen or twenty with few opportunities of employment in which there is a future, few opportunities to find work that pays adequately. After all he is not learning for the future. It does give him at this end of his life's span the impetus toward bad social habits, and all sorts of unhappiness for the present and future, because he has not found his place in the industrial world. When he comes to us already involved in some maladjustment, we have little opportunity to find a job that will have a constructive effect on his mind and muscles.

Of a block of 80 records read of men employed in the steel industry, 32 were affected in this last year by the part-time work arrangement. That is, the part-time in each of these 32 cases was determined by the company and not by the man's illness, state of mind, or antisocial habits. Of course, those 80 records do not cover by any means our load of men employed in steel. They are selected from the work of some of the visitors in three districts and the selection determined altogether by the time and convenience of the reader.

In addition to the effect of the abandonment of plants, which might be considered a phase of technological unemployment, our clients have been affected by all the other phases as well. For instance, in one plant that several years ago employed 6,500 men, there are now employed 5,000 men, and the production is larger. This meant no mechanization, no radical change in processes. It is true larger furnaces have been built so that eight are doing the work of eleven, and the total working force for that department would be lower. But, outside of that, the reduction has come for the most part by a campaign from the top to increase efficiency, to raise production, a scrutiny of department lists to eliminate extra men, the replanning of shifts, attempts to make every hour of every man's working day profitable to the company, to eliminate bad risks in individual employees. In another plant of this same company where this same campaign went forward, an extensive mechanization program went forward at the same time, so that this plant, which originally employed 14,000 men, now employs 9,000, and still with increased production. In another plant where enormous changes in mechanization are under way at this moment the estimates of new working force vary from one in three to two in three. Each one of these illustrations is of one of those plants which dominates the town in which it is located.

Sometimes this drive for efficiency has affected more than the wage earner. It is common talk that in several instances managers who had been in charge of the given plants for many years were transferred, promoted, or removed in order to make room for someone else, perhaps no more able, but who would not have built up over long years friendly associations with individuals. The old manager could not find it in his heart to let certain men go, perhaps a man who started when he did, or a man to whom he had said "Good morning" every day for fifteen years. In one company's plant where only 1,200 men were employed, they had a new manager take charge in the summer of 1928. By September, although there was no particular recession of orders, they cut their force to a little more than 600 men. This was done in order to enable the new management to build afresh. By December, they were again at their peak of 1,200. It is true that many of the 600 were re-employed at some point in that three-month interval, but of course an unknown number failed to reapply or to be re-employed. The employment department, anticipating that a number would return, did not cancel their names from the list of group insurance but simply allowed them to lapse, so that the men could again establish themselves in benefits when they returned. This was done without instruction from the main office, but probably means that the petty officials thus made a better feeling for the company on the part of the men, under circumstances that might well have alienated them.

For our own social agency the device of the part-time week has raised the newest complication and the one about which we are most concerned. It seemed a social good in 1921 when there was an effort to give work to as many men as possible, under a period of extreme depression. It has been something of a commonplace in our experience since 1927. It does not now seem so happy. There has been no change in the wage scale and no radical change in the cost of living. The short week has come for many without the social gains predicted for it. The increased leisure has brought a sense of defeat rather than release. While it is true that the social agency has not had come to its attention the whole block of employees affected by this program, not even to the extent in which they came in the periods of depression of 1914 and 1921, still the program has increased our case load. In many instances clients may not come to us because of the one factor of short-time work, but it seems reasonable that the extra pressure of that reduction in wages would bring to us the man who might otherwise have made his own imperfect adjustment, in spite of illness, family dissension, and comparative inability to meet the competition of his fellows. We have accepted it as a factor affecting our service budget more than our relief budget. We attempted, through some of our friends who know the industry from the point of view of the policy makers, to ascertain how much this particular device of part-time work was an accepted program, and so far have nothing more definite than that "They are all trying it."

It seems clear now that if we should begin to take over any share of the direct or indirect subsidy of labor employed by steel, or any other industry, we should arrive soon at an entirely untenable and illogical position. Philanthropic effort should not and could never be, under any circumstances, a form of insurance. While it would be just as illogical to attempt it for an industry that is not altogether solvent, it reaches the *reductio ad absurdum* with an industry that is in the happy state pictured by the financial columns of the *New York Times*, or by the reports in *Steel and Iron Age*. It is important that not only the agency realizes it but the industry also. In a city where there is a welfare fund, this seems to me, judging by the experience of certain cities, to be especially important. If the industry in making their contribution to the welfare fund feels, or if their employees are for an instant permitted to feel, that they thereby are rightful recipients of relief given in periods of partial or complete unemployment, everything is thrown out of focus, and the agencies' inability to do a good job is not because their new and reopened cases in a given month are equal to half their load, but because somewhere farther back in the line responsibility has not been placed and accepted where it belongs.

What will be so much harder because it is not so clear cut is to guard against our increased responsibility for the marginal men, for the fringe of industry. There always have been and there always will be men in that fringe. Our records are full of them—the unemployable, the almost unemployable, the comparatively ineffective—but the width of that band of marginal men is being increased by all these pressures of part-time work, technological unemployment, reduced working life, more complete medical examinations at the time of application for employment. These are the men who will make our case loads grow heavier, and these are the conditions that will hinder solution when we shall try to help a family to its fullest self-expression, including self-support.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CASE WORKING AGENCY

Edward D. Lynde, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland

HERCULES had a simple job in slaying the Hydra. It had only nine heads. Unemployment has a hundred different heads, at least a hundred different causes, and as many suggested remedies.

What then can you do, and what can I do, about such an intricate problem? Directly we can do little, but indirectly our influence may be tremendous. Search this country, and you will find no group which is in closer touch with unemployed families. Clearly, then, we cannot blink our responsibility for dealing with the problem. We have a threefold obligation: in case work, in research, and in putting our findings across.

First, through case work alone, we may actually increase the number of jobs available through adjusting those who would otherwise be unemployable. There are times when an industry could afford to hire more workers if it could get workmen who were capable and well adjusted and yet it cannot afford to hire the maladjusted. Personal maladjustment indicated by alcoholism, domestic difficulty, or other evidence of emotional instability appeared in at least one-quarter of unemployed families under care of the Cleveland Associated Charities in 1927, while in St. Louis about one-half the unemployed wage earners under care of the Provident Association in 1926 had a poor work record. Here, then, is evidence that in perhaps one-half of our unemployed families case work may be of fundamental assistance. If so, to what degree are we really using case work to reduce unemployment, and to what degree can we employ case work during the pressure of unemployment?

Often just as the visitor begins to make some progress she has to drop the case because of pressure of other work. In one case, a man quit one job after another, apparently influenced by his wife's inability to adjust herself to a lower standard of living than that to which she had been reared. The case worker had just begun to create an understanding and sympathetic attitude on the part of the wife and the man had secured another of his numerous jobs, when more urgent situations arose—and she dropped the fundamental matter of getting the man fully adjusted.

We must devote increasing attention to the problem of apportioning our time over the large number of families which come to us during unemployment in such a way as to do intensive work in at least 5 or 10 per cent of those where it is most urgently needed, and a satisfactory short-time piece of work in the remainder.

But in doing this, let us not for a moment think of the 5 per cent intensive cases as the real contribution of case work and overlook the tremendous value of a case work approach in the other 95 per cent. The short-time case work on the other 95 per cent is essential for two reasons: first, it offers a sympathetic and somewhat individualized service, with an attempt to graduate it to the needs of the particular family. (Even on a so called "minor service" case, one sympathetic interview may serve to buck up the failing courage of an unemployed man at the psychological moment.) Second, such short-time case work brings at least some semblance of discriminate justice into the distribution of relief. Unless we are willing to assume this burden, the public is likely to adopt indiscriminate methods of relief giving which will be destructive to both the client and the community.

To illustrate the bucking-up process, short-time case work, comprising altogether two home visits, two office interviews, and several telephone calls, seems to have come at a critical time in Mr. Reese's career. He had a good work record and good habits until, discouraged with months of unemployment, he began to frequent poolrooms and to drink and gamble. When the visitor went to the home, he said, "We owes $8.00 gas and two months' light, our insurance policy relapsed a few weeks ago, jus' couldn't keep it goin'. Us can't get no credit and we borrowed till we can't no more. You want to see in the closet there? I'm so hungry now I don't know what to do. Yesterday and today we had bread and sweeten' water. Lot for hunger ain't it?"

He then went on to tell of the various places where he had been looking for work. "A man with a family can't live like that. Today he mought have bread and tomorrow he mought not, and with little uns beggin' for food, I tell you it's hard. I don' go to no church 'cause that's all you hear, money, money, money."

The visitor suggested several opportunities for employment which Mr. Reese promised to trace down. This process was repeated until Mr. Reese called to announce joyfully that he had finally found a job. Now he is also taking a course at night school to fit himself for more skilled occupations.

From somewhere there has come the erroneous conception that case work is confined to changing people for the better. There are instances like this where fully as effective case work may consist in preventing people from changing for the worse.

In an intensive study by the Cleveland Associated Charities, of 50 unemployment cases, it was found that 11 of them needed neither relief nor personality adjustment, and in 6 of these no service item of any kind was tabulated. Yet even in these 6 families, the case workers may have accomplished an untabulated service of importance, either by steering the man into a job which he himself secured or by giving him and his wife renewed confidence to see things through.

And, as we have said, such short-time case work often prevents the substitution of destructive relief measures. Two years ago, the Communist party in Cleveland made a house to house canvass and held meetings in the public school buildings with a view to swamping the Associated Charities with applications, and thus discrediting us, so as to force their demands for bread lines and soup kitchens. Had we failed to meet this emergency, the public, which even now thinks too often of relief as the solution of unemployment, would have turned to soup kitchens. We need not stress before this audience the destructive effect of unnecessary relief. Even necessary relief may definitely undermine a family's self-reliance, as evidenced in several cases recently studied.

History from the Roman Corn Law and the English Poor Law down to the present has through the failure of indiscriminate relief repeatedly and overwhelmingly testified to the importance of this short-time case work in preventing widespread dependence. Turn our unemployment cases to tax supported, case working agencies if we will, but let us not connive to hoodwink the public through turning those cases to any agency, public or private, which is thinking solely in terms of relief, unless it is the only way to save our agencies from being wrecked under an overwhelming load, and, even then, only after we have tried every method of handling the burden ourselves.

And there are ways of easing the burden. For example, one agency tried successfully the plan of engaging extra workers and assigning about one-tenth of its staff as specialists to handle only unemployment cases, thus somewhat releasing the rest of the staff from the unemployment deluge. These specialists developed a particular technique of investigation and treatment, having their eyes wide open for employment opportunities.

So both short-time and intensive case work is at present an essential part of our contribution toward meeting the problem of unemployment, and we may enhance this contribution through the assignment of unemployment cases to special visitors, and the careful selection of certain cases for intensive work.

However, our responsibility does not end here. We cannot confine our efforts to case work alone, but must follow out its implications and this in unemployment means research. Here our national organizations should take the lead, but even the smallest local agency can do its part.

Recently Isador Lubin, who directed the unemployment investigation for the United States Senate, made a study of 700 unemployment cases which was heralded in the *New Republic* and elsewhere as the most comprehensive study of unemployed individuals ever conducted, yet the case work agencies have an intimate contact with many times that number. In Cleveland alone, the Associated Charities from November 1, 1927, to April 1, 1928, cared for 1,950 families in which unemployment was a problem. Add the thousands of other unemployment cases under care of all other case work agencies throughout the country, and we have some idea of our potential contribution.

Lubin's study revealed that two-thirds were out of work three months or more. The Cleveland Associated Charities' study of 1,950 families revealed only about one-eighth out of work three months or more after they came to us. But they had possibly been unemployed an average of two months before they came to us, if one may judge from the graph showing rise and fall in Associated Charities applications, which always follow about two months later the rise and fall of unemployment in the city. If, as thus indicated, families hold out two months on the average before applying to us, then we should add these two months before they were known to us, to the unemployment period after they came to us. Even on this basis, only one-fifth of our 1,950 families were out of work three months or more, compared with Lubin's two-thirds, thus comforting us with the thought that the family agency is perhaps a considerable factor in shortening the unemployment period of its clients.

The St. Louis Provident Association made a study of its unemployed wage earners in 1926 and found that only 5 per cent ever used agencies or unions to secure work; in Cleveland 24 per cent of a test group studied secured work through the family society and 10 per cent through the free employment bureau. In St. Louis, one-half the group were unskilled laborers; the Cleveland study of 1,950 Associated Charity cases disclosed that more than four-fifths were unskilled. All nationalities and races except the British and native white had a larger percentage of unemployment than would correspond with their percentage of the total population. In both cities the large majority were cases never before known to the society. In the Cleveland study, two-thirds came through personal applications, and only a few were referred by employers direct.

Of our unemployment cases 1,950 were distributed principally over 25 industries, the largest number, 14 per cent, coming from the building trades, with 9 per cent from automobile industries, 7 per cent from foundries, 7 per cent from transportation, and every other industry contributing less than 5 per cent. This seems to contradict the prevalent impression that unemployment was due to a lapse in one industry.

If anyone had the idea that employers were seizing upon unemployment as a pretext for weeding out their men over forty-five, this impression was gainsaid by our study of the 1,950 cases. About 70 per cent of the unemployed were between twenty and forty-five years; 10 per cent were under twenty years; and only 20 per cent were over forty-five. Moreover, it was particularly interesting to note that whereas only one per cent of those between twenty and forty-five were recorded as having been re-employed by the same establishment, and only 6 per cent of those between sixteen and twenty were re-employed, yet 27 per cent of those over forty-five were re-engaged by their old firms—a striking contradiction of the impression that employers generally were seizing the opportunity to drop their old workers.

As to the effects of unemployment, a more intensive study of 50 families in Cleveland revealed that at least 36 per cent had become desperately discouraged, and that about 16 per cent had come to think themselves inferior, had lost their self-reliance, had developed a begging tendency, or, because of the pressure of creditors and a feeling of insecurity, were exhibiting other forms of symptomatic behavior.

A different study by the Cleveland Associated Charities revealed that out of 550 families unemployed in the winter beginning in 1926, there were 8 families in which relief was given then and again in the winters of 1927 and 1928; and of the 1,950 unemployment cases in the winter of 1927 only 30 received relief again in the winter of 1928. There were 12 others which had relief in 1926 and 1928 but not in 1927. We are now studying the causes which brought these families back for relief the second winter. A study also of the vast majority of families which never came back might testify to the effectiveness of the case work approach in unemployment.

Over a period of years with the Cleveland Associated Charities the proportion of families presenting unemployment problems was greater in the year 1915 than in any year since with the exception of 1921, ranging from 5 per cent in 1920, the lowest year, to 65 per cent in 1921, the highest.

But what price the glory of securing figures if we make no use of them? It is the obligation of every case worker to know what is revealed in our case work that throws light on unemployment, and also to inform himself about the causes and the possible remedies of unemployment, not to become dogmatic but to discuss remedies intelligently and to see their relation to our work.

Some case workers have spoken as though unemployment insurance were the one sure remedy for unemployment. It is simply a stop gap. There are few laborers who would not prefer work to unemployment insurance. However, research of our records might add to the available information as to the probable efficacy of old age pensions and unemployment insurance.

Through informing ourselves about the various remedies for unemployment we become aware of the groups which are influential in the solving of this problem.

First, the employers are perhaps the most influential group. Much depends on their attitude. Consider the employer described in *Middletown* who ruthlessly fired large numbers of employees whom he had inveigled from other cities, to wander back as best they could. Contrast him with the Weber Company, which when it was obliged to relinquish the manufacture of carriages found a place in its other shops for every man thus employed. Mr. Weber afterward commented that he would not take a large sum for the good will thus created in his other factories. Various concerns have almost eliminated unemployment through sales estimates, through closely watching the business barometer, and, when sales begin to lag, through sales contests, increased advertising, and even price reduction, and through developing a new product which would dovetail, as in the case of ice and coal. Others have trained their employees, especially a small flying squadron, to do various kinds of work, fitting in where demand is the greatest. Some have reduced the short periods of unemployment through watchfully keeping their machinery and lighting in order. And others plan ahead for the placement of employees dislodged by new machinery. Some have postponed their extension building to fill in a period of depression. Others have shortened the hours of labor to extend work to all who need it. Still others have effected remedial measures such as thrift clubs, unemployment insurance, and vacations with pay in dull periods. Trades associations and trades papers are spreading information which will reduce unemployment. That employer is behind the times who is not making a determined effort to eliminate or reduce to a minimum unemployment in his plant.

Second, there is the national government. Some of us have been working with the American Association for Labor Legislation to secure an adequate appropriation by Congress for the free employment bureaus. In Canada and in Germany their network of employment exchanges cooperates through a national service. Such a national service in the United States might be especially helpful in view of the sectional changes in industry. For instance, in New England from 1920 to 1925 factory employees decreased 17 per cent while in the South Atlantic states they increased. On the other hand, in the South Atlantic states farm laborers decreased 11 per cent while in New England they increased. In Canada and in France the government goes so far as to reduce the transportation fare for anyone who accepts a job in another section.

Another extremely important function of the government has been advocated through the Jones Bill in the United States Senate which would authorize a fund to be expended on public works, whenever the index of construction contracts falls below a certain point. If this national reserve fund could be supplemented by states and cities who would save some of their construction for an unemployment period, the very fact of billions of dollars thus held in reserve would tend to maintain morale. Furthermore, two billion dollars additional construction starts many more billions in other industries, making the things which the workman will buy for his own needs and the material he uses in his work. Otto Mallory, head of the Public Works Committee of 1921, asserts that a million dollars thus started in circulation early in an unemployment period is worth probably ten millions. If so, two billions should mean twenty billions, far more than enough to bring industry back to normalcy.

But this plan will never be put into effect until the public changes its attitude. Now "we want what we want when we want it." If the government contemplates a new post office, we demand it at once. We will not wait for a period of depression. Until public sentiment on this point is changed, the plan of a prosperity reserve will not get votes.

Furthermore, our national government could provide a central place for the many investigations, studies, and surveys of unemployment made by various organizations. The national government might make great contribution by measuring the extent and character of unemployment. The 1930 census bill passed by Congress includes provision for such an inquiry. On two previous occasions such a census of unemployment was attempted, but the figures were never compiled for use. Perhaps we are to blame for the lack of interest. Certainly we need to know the extent and character of unemployment before we can cope with it successfully.

Third, in addition to employers and our national government, our city governments can become active. For two years Baltimore, in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, has made a house to house census of unemployment through the city police. This can be done by any city.

Fourth, our state governments may ameliorate unemployment through such measures as the better regulation of private employment bureaus.

Much more might be said on the complicated nature of this problem. Certain it is that we have a contribution to make toward its solution. This consists of bringing our facts before an ever wider circle of people, whether by the casual meeting with a friend at the club, by facing our table companions with the question as to what the case work agency should do about unemployment, or by the more formal approach through our own board, or our organization members, perhaps meeting in different districts of the city; also by district and city conferences of social work, featuring unemployment; by case committees; by our annual reports, special pamphlets, and the newspapers; by study groups through the American Association of Social Workers; by federations and central councils of social agencies, through such organizations as the federated churches, which has recently cooperated with us in appointing a committee on unemployment in Cleveland; by civic agencies, labor unions, and particularly associations of employment managers, employers, and chambers of commerce. For instance, in Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Seattle, chambers of commerce or other groups have become active in studying unemployment, sometimes with a view to securing new industries which will dovetail with existing industries. Almost all these mediums have been utilized by case working agencies with tangible results.

The case worker must not leave to the executive the responsibility for meeting this problem. Every one must do his or her part.

Perhaps our best way to reach employers is through our everyday contacts on cases. Take the employer who referred the family of a man about fifty, who had been dropped after being in his employ five years and was threatening suicide. It was a revelation to this employer, who had thought only of relief as a solution, when the visitor informed him that this family was not in need and that the man's despondency was due to his lack of occupation. The case worker persuaded the man to undergo a slight operation which he had hitherto resisted, whereupon the employer gladly rehired him. This is the case worker's stock in trade—the use of a case to make unemployment concrete. Of course, her approach to be effective must not be sentimental. It should be based on good economics, and must be also diplomatic, for some employers are sensitive on this question. But once let them fully realize the cost to them of unemployment and they will be more insistent than we that unemployment be eradicated. As previously stated some industries have already greatly reduced their unemployment, having come to recognize the tremendous cost of employing casual laborers instead of a steady, contented corps; recognizing also that their prosperity depends on the purchasing power of the masses, and that it is they, the property owners, who ultimately bear the burden of unemployment.

And if a few concerns fail to see the economic advantage to them, we may depend on enlightened public opinion to bring them into line, for that influence has never failed. We cannot, in fairness to them or to the community, withhold from employers the facts which are known more intimately to us than to any other people.

You may remember the man who never repaired his roof because when it rained it was too wet, and when it didn't rain it needed no fixing. Obviously now is the time to start work both within and outside our organization: first, to study the selection of intensive cases; second, to assign special visitors on unemployment, in time of crises; third, to insure support for a more adequate staff in unemployment periods through keeping public confidence and through recognition of this need by community funds; fourth, to inaugurate research; fifth, to organize study groups within the agency to resolve this problem into its elements, and then outside the organization; sixth, to make the occasion in our social contacts for portraying vividly and graphically the truth which has come to us through our particular experience; seventh, to cooperate with any group which is or can be interested; eighth, to take an active interest in the measures of national, state, and local governments and in sane, remedial legislation; ninth, and perhaps most important, to make constant use of all our contacts to bring the problem home to employers.

A Cleveland editor, intimately acquainted with social work, recently declared that no group of people has more social wisdom and less influence than case workers. He may be right. Anyway we may comfort ourselves that we are at least supposed to have the wisdom. I verily believe that we do have it, and that we may have a great deal more of it. In any event, in this crucial matter of unemployment, we social workers are at the strategic center.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE: GAINS AND LOSSES

Rev. Robert E. Lucey, Past President, California Conference of Social Work, Los Angeles

TO PROVIDE ourselves with sufficient courage to face the losses, let us first glance at the gains recently won by those who labor.

The five-day week has put in an appearance, not generally but nevertheless definitely. Some building trades, with initiative, forethought, and power behind their drive, have established this sane and helpful precedent. Railroads and manufacturers generally may be expected to take their time in adopting a schedule which gives the same pay for forty hours of labor that is now paid for a five-and-a-half- or six-day week. But the building trades, organized and resourceful, are leading the way and the simple prayer of the pious social worker is, "More power to them."

The five-day week is a definite gain. It means that more men will have jobs; that workers will have more leisure; that consuming power and consuming time will be increased; that zest and purpose will be added to labor; and therefore that labor and capital will prosper by the innovation.

Another gain consists in this: Union labor has found a good talking point for higher wages. We do not intimate that any former basis upon which good wages were predicated was not socially and economically sound; we merely say that an argument for fair wages has been found which appeals to employers as well as employed. The new basis of discussion relative to wages might be summed up as follows: Real wages must increase in proportion to man's increased power to produce, and increased wages mean increased consuming power.

Some definite gains have been made in social legislation.

While a great deal remains to be done in this field, and we have suffered many setbacks, still the accumulated achievements of several years reveal an encouraging attitude on the part of state legislatures to establish social justice by law and to make democracy effective among unequal citizens.

In the District of Columbia, after several years of controversy, there has been enacted a Workmen's Compensation Law which is an extension of a similar law in New York. The New Jersey law has been amended to allow a higher compensation, and the laws of Louisiana, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Virginia have been made more liberal.

Private employment agencies, by their sharp practices and frank injustices, have been a thorn in the side of labor these many years. Action against them started in several states with some success. The fact that these agencies are being watched and criticized helps to improve their virtue. Some states reserve the right to withhold licenses if the existing agencies are found to be adequate. And the posting of a schedule of fees has been made compulsory.

In the field of child labor laws there is little to chronicle. New York and the District of Columbia now have an age limit of fourteen years and have regulated the hours and working conditions of minors.

We still have with us the detestable injunction in labor disputes. This choice bit of legislation is a powerful and contemptible weapon forged by capital to oppress organized labor. By the virtue of the power of injunction severe restrictions have been placed upon workingmen and they have frequently been dragged into court for contempt when they were guiltless of any crime. Our courts still recognize as valid the unjust and illegal contract which workers are sometimes forced to sign depriving themselves of their natural and inalienable right to join a labor union. This type of social thinking seems out of place in the twentieth century. The recent attempt to pass a federal injunction bill was defeated, but in Wisconsin a bill regulating injunctions met with success.

We are sufficiently simple minded and optimistic to record as a gain the recommendation of the senatorial subcommittee investigating unemployment that the United States Census include unemployment figures along with the general census; also that public works be delayed until unemployment is about to set in, and the establishment of a federal system of unemployment bureaus connected with state and private agencies.

The greatest interest in labor legislation this year has centered about the old age pension movement. Four states passed old age pension laws, bringing the total of such laws to ten. Under severe cross questioning we will probably break down and admit that the California law recently signed by our governor seems to be the best of the ten. It will be administered by the counties under the watchful eye of the State Department of Social Welfare. An income of $30.00 a month is assured to the aged of this state, the cost to be borne equally by the county of residence and the state. The law is reasonably liberal, generous, and helpful.

During the legislative year of 1929 old age pension bills passed one branch of the legislature in seven states. In New York a commission was created to study the subject. The Pennsylvania law has been declared unconstitutional. The outlook is hopeful. Justice for the aged seems to be on the way. Since industry does not look after workers in their old age, the counties and states will do it and pay the bill out of public taxes.

Now comes a gain which might be questioned—the increased membership of the American Federation of Labor. The numerals placed in the foreground by the Federation are hopeful, but the background of the picture is dark. In 1920 the membership was over four million. In 1921 and 1922 they lost 700,000 men, who had not intended to be union men for life, chiefly the "war babies." In 1927 the membership was 2,850,000, and it is claimed that in 1928 the figure was close to 2,900,000. But in the background of the picture we find several hundred thousand coal miners on strike, locked out, looking for work, taking up other vocations, demoralized, defeated, and close to starvation. We have about twice as many coal miners as we can possibly use.

The general situation is not only deplorable; it is pathetic. What this means to union labor can well be imagined.

We come now to the consideration of certain conditions which are partly gains and partly losses—the mixed elements of our industrial life. At first glance one might consider recent events in the southern textile fields as an obvious loss to the labor movement. The social conscience of industrial leaders and leading citizens seems not to have changed in thirty years.

In 1901 the North Carolina State Department of Labor issued a circular which was mailed throughout the North, and read as follows:

> A fine chance for Cotton Mill investment in North Carolina. No strikes, no laws regulating the hours of labor and the age of employment. Cheap labor and the home of the cotton plant. Northern Capital cannot find a better investment than cotton manufacturing in North Carolina, with her fine water power and grand climate. This Department will be pleased to give any information desired in regard to sites, power, etc.

We shudder as we read those lines—no protection for the worker, no limit to the hours he may be forced to work, no regard for old age or tender youth, a fine chance to make money: come and grow fat on the weakness and misery of our people. And that circular was written by the State Department of Labor! When the shudder passes off we say complacently, "That was thirty years ago; civilization has changed, the world is getting better; we don't do things that way now."

Four years ago a wealthy German went to one of the southern states to organize a rayon plant. He advertised that he would pay forty cents an hour to his workers and intended to do so. The real estate men and the Chamber of Commerce attacked him in force, and claimed that he would wreck the whole economic system of that state if he insisted on paying such exorbitant wages. Under strong pressure the gentleman yielded and cut the wage to 32 cents an hour. That city has not changed much in thirty years and there are plenty of other cities, North and South, to which the leading citizens invite a horde of workers in order that there may be two applicants for every job.

The Louisville Industrial Foundation has been advertising the fact that in their community labor is both cheap and unorganized. In Alabama mill hands worked last year an average of over nine hours a day, for an average weekly wage of $14.58 for men and $11.88 for women. The simple hills people of the South have been herded into villages, and subjected to long hours of deadening grind in the heated, lint-charged atmosphere of the textile mills.

How can such a situation in the textile industry contain any element of gain? Things could not have been much worse thirty years ago. The element of gain lies in this, that the workers are not only conscious of the injustices meted out to them, but this consciousness has crystallized and they are striking. They have become articulate and the whole country has read the story of their wrongs. The South has awakened and out of the industrial transformation there will come a better day for those who labor.

We have mentioned the new basis of wage demands—increased pay for increased productivity. The logic of this reasoning is obvious, but so far it is a theoretic or potential gain rather than a real and practical one. A few statistics will sustain this contention. Let us look at the census of manufacturers for 1927; it is a combined summary for all manufacturing industries.

CENSUS OF MANUFACTURERS: 1927

COMBINED SUMMARY FOR ALL MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES BY STATES: 1927 AND 1925

United States	Wage Earners (Average for the Year)	Wages	Cost of Materials, Factory Supplies, Containers, Fuel, and Power	Value of Products	Value Added by Manufacture
1927.....	8,353,325	$10,848,802,532	$35,136,184,129	$62,721,375,881§	$27,585,191,752
1925.....	8,381,511	10,727,337,625	35,896,886,428	62,668,259,591§	26,771,373,163

A brief analysis of these figures will reveal that the increased productivity of the workers has meant much more to capital than to labor. First of all, we notice that in 1927 in all the manufacturing industries of the United States there was an average of 28;000 fewer workers than in 1925, and yet those who worked produced more goods and got better wages. But the lion's share of the increased value of goods manufactured went to capital. Specifically, the wages of 1927 as against those of 1925 increased by $121,000,000.00. But the value added by manufacture for the same period increased by $813,000,000.00. In other words, increased productivity of labor benefited capital as against labor in the ratio of more than 5 to 1.

Now it may be contended that the tremendous increase in value of goods added by manufacture is due largely to management, business efficiency, labor saving devices, larger use of power and cheaper power, better salesmanship, advertising, etc., and that over these inventions, improvements, and methods labor had no control and in their adoption played no part.

The answer is that labor is a vital and most necessary element in mass production or any other production, and labor must therefore enjoy a fair share in the fruits of productivity. And let no one contend that labor has received and is receiving a fair share in the profits of industry. About three million wage earners are out of work and of those regularly employed perhaps one-third are not receiving a living wage. Meanwhile many powerful industrial and commercial corporations are reaping unnecessary and unreasonable profits. We might add that, with all due respect to the industrial engineers, the laboring man has made a definite contribution to the better methods, increased efficiency, and elimination of waste which now obtain in shops and factory.

Those who believe in industrial ethics, as well as the students of mental hygiene, will find another compelling reason for allotting to the worker a fair share in the fruits of his productivity. He is a human being, a creature of God with a personality that should be developed, a power of self-expression that should be made articulate, and a sublime destiny that should be achieved. The net result of increased productivity therefore is twofold—better wages for those who can get a job and perhaps two million fewer jobs than there were before. We will not attempt the impossible task of describing unemployment in definite figures, but it is estimated that our normal condition of unemployment runs close to a million wage earners. This would suggest therefore that possibly three million men and women were out of work last year. We may expect in the future a gradual increase in wages for those who can find a job and an increase in unemployment for an indefinite period. The newer trades, such as radio and aeroplane manufacturing, and the increase in special types of service, such as gas stations, hotel and restaurant jobs, etc., seem unable to take up the slack in unemployment.

This picture of losses and gains in industry is somewhat blurred because the subjects are themselves involved and complex and furthermore will not stand still long enough to be registered.

The growth of company unions is a loss. Their membership is now not less than a million and a half. On the other hand, the organization of such units in industry suggests that the employers are either inspired or frightened, which in either case is a gain.

Society holds out a varied assortment of opportunities to workers today. The intelligent and skilful group representing industrial engineers, sales managers, supervisors, advertisers, etc., are in demand. There is a moderate demand for technical experts in manual work, though many have lost their jobs. There is little room for the large group of fairly skilled and unskilled in the field of production. In other words, society is putting a larger premium on clever salesmanship, advertising, engineering, etc., and a smaller premium on pure technical skill.

Our greatest loss in recent years has been an intangible, imponderable thing consisting of our neglect or inability to bring closer the day of industrial democracy. We cannot escape the thought that many of our industrial statesmen are uninformed or corrupted. There is rampant in this land a type of thinking, a philosophy of life, an attitude toward grim realities that must be adjusted. This thing stands between us and social justice. A brief statistical analysis of present day conditions among the masses will reveal that somebody is not thinking through.

There are somewhat less than thirty million wage earners in the United States. About five and a half million are in agriculture and about twenty-four and a half million in non-agricultural pursuits. These approximately twenty-four million are further divided into about eighteen million men and six million women. We do not include in these statistics executives, but we do include those whose salaries are in the status of wages. The average wage for the five and a half million in agriculture has been between $400.00 and $800.00 a year.

There are some three million men whose wages average about $1,250.00; another three million run from $1,250.00 to $1,500.00. There are four million who average between $1,500.00 and $2,100.00, but in a lower group we have six million men whose wages range from $1,000.00 to $1,250.00 and two million who were paid less than $1,000.00.

From the six million women we exclude those in agriculture and the professions, such as nurses, teachers, etc. These wage earners are divided roughly into six classes containing about one million each. The average wage for the million women in each of these six classes is as follows: the first million received less than $12.00 a week during the period 1927–28; the second group ranged from $12.00 to $15.00 a week; the third from $15.00 to $17.50; the fourth from $17.50 to $20.00; the fifth from $20.00 to $25.00; and the sixth from $25.00 upward.

These figures indicate that about eight million men in the period 1927 to 1928 engaged in non-agricultural work, received less than $1,250.00 a year and two million women made less than $700.00 a year. The philosophy of life among our citizens which permits that sort of thing is abnormal.

To sound a happier note in conclusion, let us remind ourselves that the second generation of immigrants are more independent than their parents. There will soon be fewer in the low wage scale group from which industry may draw. Then, too, churches, social workers, and thoughtful citizens generally are pounding away toward the goal of social justice and industrial democracy. Let us hope that they are prophets of a better day.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING

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THE standard of living of the masses of the people is the only true index of prosperity. The rise and fall of nations in the past has been due very largely to the fact that a condition of prosperity which was enjoyed by a few at the top of the economic scale did not permeate the lower strata of society. The glory of Athens rested upon a slave foundation, and Rome at the height of her economic power was poisoned and already doomed by the masses of the people who had no share in her greatness.

A prosperity that has been so recently the ally of political propaganda, that has been appropriated exclusively as a special dispensation of the gods in favor of a party that has kept its faith in a high protective tariff, probably needs the searchlight of truth, the critical analysis of expert opinion.

It was therefore an occasion for rejoicing when we learned that a study of the economic condition of the country was being conducted by the National Bureau of Economic Research, an organization which declares that it exists for the sake of impartial investigation, and of finding facts divested of propaganda.

In 1921 the country was suffering from a business depression unequaled by that of any previous period. There was the inevitable accompaniment of a terrifying volume of unemployment, which soon became a matter of deep public concern. President Harding called a Conference on Unemployment. Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, was chosen chairman of the Conference committee, which immediately authorized an investigation to be conducted by this same Bureau of Economic Research. Its findings were subsequently made public in a report entitled *Business Cycles and Unemployment.*

In 1928 business activity was in sharp contrast to that of 1921. We were in the midst of an era of what was known as unparalleled prosperity. Even an ominous undercurrent of increasing unemployment did not affect our optimism. America had become the richest nation on earth, the richest, perhaps, the world had ever known. Its total wealth had reached nearly $400,000,000,000, and its annual income was $89,000,000,000. Mr. Hoover suggested that the Conference committee continue its work in an attempt to account for the miraculous changes which had come about in seven brief years. The result of the investigation is this widely heralded report, appearing in two large volumes, entitled *Recent Economic Changes.*

It is a distinctly disappointing piece of work. It is not propaganda, but neither is it, in its totality, a thoroughly scientific study. It bears all too obviously the stamp of a definite point of view. It overlooks the human issues which lie at the basis of all true prosperity. There is no indication that the facts, and the sometimes somber figures, of the documents represent the strugglings, the strivings, and the defeats of actual human beings. It ignores the assumption that the welfare and the happiness of the masses of the people are the sole criterion of national well-being. It is the kind of report which would do credit to a very efficient secretary of commerce; it is the kind which could not be issued by any but a corrupted secretary of labor. It would be unthinkable, for instance, as the analysis of the economic conditions of his country by a Ramsay MacDonald; it might be considered a valiant effort after truth seeking by a Stanley Baldwin.

There are twelve separate studies in the report, dealing with every phase of economic activity, each made, presumably, by an expert in the chosen field. The chapters toward which we turned most eagerly in anticipation of realities, were the first, "Consumption and the Standard of Living," the sixth, "Labor," and the twelfth, "Distribution of the National Income."

Let us consider first the chapter on "Consumption and the Standard of Living:" We learn, with something of a shock, that real earnings are not to be used as the measure of economic well-being. The prevailing unit of economic life is the family. The relation between individual earnings and family income is not known, nor have we yet worked out what constitutes a satisfactory family income. Moreover, both family and individual incomes are, in a large number of cases, supplemented by other income, either from property, or in the form of what are sometimes known as free goods, services rendered wholly or partially by the state. It is almost impossible to estimate accurately the flow of labor's income from property, but it is believed to be a substantial and increasing item, particularly in this country.

Then, quite unbelievably, this chapter proceeds for seventy-eight full pages to discuss and to measure the well-being, the standard of living, of the masses of Americans without reference to the wages portion of income. The real measure of prosperity, we are told, is to be found in figures of mass consumption. *The sheer volume of goods consumed forces us to conclude that there is widespread participation in these goods.* In support of this unique method, the National Committee on Debt and Taxation in England is quoted. Says this committee:

> It is easy to let comparative figures for rates of wages have too much influence on the mind. If adequate statistics of consumption were available, it seems that they would be quite inconsistent with any lower standard of living. Altogether, in the rather conflicting state of the evidence, we find ourselves thrown back, as a matter of common sense, upon the evidence of our own, and of other people's observations. We think that the signs of improvement which have impressed many observers are convincing, although it is doubtless possible to rate them too high.

Even the most elementary student of economics would scarcely regard such a method as a legitimate part of a scientific inquiry. We continue, however, with the report.

We begin with a consideration of these free goods which form so important a part of the workingman's income. First, there is free education to the extent of two and a half billions, millions for free libraries, for public health, for playgrounds, for hospitals, and then, choicest bit of all, $70,916,000 for public charity—an amount, we are told, that ought to be much larger, since most of the charity in America is dispensed through private agencies. All of these "free goods" amount to more than three billions of dollars, a threefold increase since 1911. The charity bill alone has doubled in that same period. Apparently the grim irony of counting a mounting charity bill as a part of the worker's income, or as evidence of national prosperity, quite escapes the author of this report.

We turn next to food consumption, after a few prefatory remarks in regard to this rather necessary item. There is no means for measuring undernourishment, but it is believed not to be great. Such as there is, is due, not to an insufficiency of foodstuffs, but to an insufficiency of those newer elements, the vitamins; for the rich, as well as the poor, frequently suffer from undernourishment. A prompting of conscience, perhaps, at this point may account for a footnote, a quotation from the British biochemist J. B. S. Haldane, who says in his chapter on "Vitamins," in his *Possible Worlds and Other Papers:* "As a matter of fact, about half the human race at the present moment is suffering from partial starvation; and the first requisite for them is to eat more of the cheapest food that they can get, vitamins or no vitamins. . . . ."

Then follow pages of statistics which are most interesting in the light that they throw upon the changing food habits of at least a portion of the people. We are eating far less cereal food as a nation, less beef and mutton, more pork and dairy products, more bananas, lettuce, celery, and spinach. The shipment of lettuce alone increased from 13,788 carloads in 1920 to 51,446 carloads in 1928, bringing that item of food second only to the shipment of white potatoes. The section is concluded with the following statement: "There is no longer a shortage of the essentials of diet in any class of the population, except as carelessness and ignorance may be the cause." Again, a conscience prick, in the form of another footnote—a reminder, perhaps, that this is supposed to be a scientific investigation, not a mere rehearsal of comforting beliefs and unestablished generalizations. Remember the nature of the argument in this chapter: *The sheer volume of goods consumed assures us that each is getting his share.* Test the validity of that argument by the scientific fact which is relegated to the footnotes: "Dr. Edith Hawley's analysis of the data collected for urban diets in workingmen's families by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics showed, on the contrary, a substandard average in total calories and in all the elements studied except protein."

But let us continue with the report. Clothing, and many of the luxuries, are then presented to us in a bewildering profusion. The volume of cotton textiles has declined, but rayon and silk have been manufactured in strikingly increasing quantities. So have knitted goods. Cigars and chewing tobacco have scarcely held their own, but cigarettes have increased twenty-five fold since 1899.

More than seventeen million homes have been wired for electricity. About a third of these are equipped with vacuum cleaners, slightly less than a third with washing machines. A majority have electric flatirons. Radio, the newest of the inventions, is found in 30 per cent of the homes. And then, that crowning proof of labor's prosperity, the number of automobiles in this country, trucks and passenger cars, is now close to twenty-five million.

At the end of the chapter, a few paragraphs are devoted to the farmers. There are only 40 per cent of them who need our sympathy. The remaining 60 per cent have improved their standard of living in the last seven years. The 40 per cent, however, have either lowered their standards or barely maintained previous ones, by heavy mortgaged indebtedness.

So much for the standard of living. A bit despairingly we turned to the chapter on "Labor," only to find that labor is discussed for the most part, merely as a part of the cost of production. Actual earnings are discarded because they measure the unemployment factor. The daily or hourly wage, or else the full-time earnings, that is, the theoretical amount that the worker might earn if he worked full time, is presented for our consideration. We do not object to this use of wage data for statistical purposes, provided that some other portion of the report discusses the actual earnings of the workingman in relation to his standard of living and his share in the prosperity of the nation. The chapter on "Industry" quite justifiably treats the worker as a single item in the cost of production. We have seen that the chapter on the standard of living ignores wage data altogether.

The last of the twelve studies, on the "Distribution of the National Income," deals only with generalizations. This vast income of $89,000,000,000, if equally distributed, would give to every man, woman, and child in the country $745. Instead of this equitable distribution, we find that 43 per cent of the total income goes to capital, 20 per cent as profits, taken directly from industry, and 23 per cent in the form of dividends, rent, and interest. The remaining 57 per cent goes to employees, about a third of the total amount as salaries, and the remaining two-thirds, about 38 per cent of the total, as wages.

This, then, is a review of those chapters from which the conclusion is drawn that the wage earners share in this almost fabulous wealth of America.

I am prompted to present to you what I should like to call, "The Unwritten Chapter in the Report of Recent Economic Changes."

It is not enough to boast of our 20,000 miles of airways, of the more than a billion and a half tons of freight that moved over our rail and waterways, of the 25,000,000 automobiles and trucks that thronged our highways, of the electricity that was carried to more than 17,000,000 homes, of the 3,750,000 boys and girls who attended high school, of the million young men and women enrolled in our colleges. All these are interesting facts, evidence of a business activity that is remarkable; but we must have some other standard for measuring the prosperity of the masses of the people.

While a million of our young men and women were in college, a million and a half of our children were toiling on farms, in mills, and mines, and factories, contributing to that family income which the chapter on the standard of living assures us we must come to accept as the basis of our economic life.

While the labor which has produced and distributed these billions of tons of freight, these thousands of airplanes, these millions of automobiles has been speeded up to a productivity 76 per cent greater than that at the beginning of the century, more than a million men on the farms have, during the last seven years, given up the grim struggle for existence and turned to the cities in the hope of employment; while in the cities themselves another million of workers have been dropped from industry because of technological improvements, a million workers whom our rapidly expanding newer industries have been wholly unable to absorb.

It is not enough to show us that thousands of carloads of fresh fruits and vegetables have moved over our railroads. We cannot conclude, without foregoing every portion of our critical sense, that the sheer volume of such products assures us of their widespread distribution. Indeed, it takes only a small bit of mathematical calculation to prove the contrary, that the total amount of these products could have been easily consumed without finding their way into the homes of the wage earners at all.

Lettuce, in carload shipments, we recall, came next to white potatoes. But next is a long way down on the list. Potatoes, which we are ready to admit form a portion of the workingman's diet, were shipped in five times the quantity of lettuce. Indeed, every head of lettuce that was shipped could have been consumed by that upper quarter of our people whom we know to be living in luxury or comfort, and then this group would only have had to eat one head on every eleventh day. Almost twice as many bananas came into the country in 1927 as in 1919; yet every banana in 1927 could have been consumed by this same upper class, and left them clamoring for more, for each member would have missed his banana every other day. The same thing is true to an even more striking degree of spinach, celery, and the citrous fruits, which were shipped in smaller quantities than lettuce.

We demand, therefore, some more scientific measure of the adequacy of the prevailing standard of living among the masses of the people.

Let us introduce, at this point, some interesting data on the distribution of wealth, figures given to us by the Federal Trade Commission in the year 1926. From them we learn that this colossal sum of nearly $400,000,000,000 is somewhat unevenly distributed: 1 per cent of the people own 59 per cent of the wealth; 13 per cent of the people own 90 per cent of the wealth. The remaining 10 per cent of the wealth is by no means evenly distributed among that vast multitude of 87 per cent of the people. Indeed, only a small share of them have any wealth at all, for the Federal Trade Commission informs us that 76 per cent of the people are without property of any kind. This means, then, that the wealth of the country is entirely owned by just a fourth of the people, and that within that fourth there is an appalling inequality. Seventy-six per cent of the people then can claim no part in this great prosperity except as it comes to them through income. This brings us down to a consideration of income, as wages or salaries, as the only reliable measure of economic well-being. Yet this was the one aspect of life which was totally ignored in this report in the chapter on the standard of living.

In the report of the Conference committee, of which Mr. Hoover was chairman, which reviewed and accepted the findings of the Bureau of Economic Research, we find this statement: "The widening gap between wages and the cost of living,—wages increasing while the cost of living was stationary,—may be assumed to have contributed definitely to the degree of prosperity which has characterized the period as a whole."

Now, it is just that gap which we should like to consider for a moment. We shall find it, I fear, not a gap, but a yawning chasm, and the lines which graphically bound it do not hold the same relative positions that they do in this report. The average wage line falls below, far below, the cost of living line.

In order to determine the size of this gap, we must know what it costs to live, not merely what the trend of prices and wages is, but how much the wage earner must spend to maintain himself and his family at a standard of decency and efficiency. There can be no genuine prosperity so long as there is a gap between this amount and the wage which the worker receives. The widening gap referred to in this report is of a different nature. Retail prices in the last seven years have decreased, on the average, 0.1 per cent; the purchasing power of wages during that same period has increased 2.2 per cent. The fallacy in using such figures as a measure of prosperity lies in the starting points. Prices for a certain year, usually 1913, are taken as the base, 100. Wages for the same year are taken as another 100, regardless of whether they were high or low at that time. As a matter of fact, the wage in 1913 no more coincided with the cost of living than it does today. Since that year the lines which represented the two divergent items have themselves diverged to the extent of 2.3 per cent. The concrete significance of this to the workingman is that he now has $28 more than he did in 1913 with which to bridge the gap of from six hundred to ten hundred dollars that lie between his wage and the cost of a fair standard of living.

Budgets determining the cost of this fair standard of living have been worked out by many different groups, among them the United States Bureau of Labor, the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, and the Industrial Conference Board, an association of employers. The amazing thing is the agreement of all of these estimates. The Industrial Conference Board, last summer, decided to drop a child from the usually stipulated family of five, thereby reducing its budget, but when the child has been resuscitated, as it must be if the race is to be preserved, the cost of the Conference budget on the Pacific Coast is in practical agreement with that of the Heller Committee and with that of the Bureau of Labor Standard. The cost of the Heller budget in San Francisco in 1927 was $2,057.08, that of the Bureau of Labor in Los Angeles and San Diego today, a little more than $2,100. The author of the report on the standard of living condemns these budgets because they contain none of the newer goods, lettuce, bananas, cantaloupes, washing machines, radios, etc. We admit that they do not. They include only the bare necessities, in quantities merely sufficient to sustain life at maximum physical efficiency.

In spite of all the millions of pounds of rayon and silk and woolens that were consumed by the nation, the workingman who is to support his family on approximately two thousand dollars a year would have as his share of goods in that same year just two-thirds of a twenty-dollar suit, one-fourth of a twenty-dollar overcoat, and one suit of winter underwear. His wife could have the half of a six-dollar silk dress and the half of a twelve-dollar coat. If she lived in the West these things would cost her a trifle more. Her silk dress would cost ten instead of six, and her coat would cost eighteen; but these would be her portions according to the estimates of the Industrial Conference Board.

No, there are no luxuries permitted in these two-thousand-dollar budgets, merely food, shelter, clothing, meager amounts for recreation, five dollars a month for doctor, dentist, and medicine, five dollars a month for insurance or lodge dues, and a small amount for sundries, household maintenance, etc. There is nothing for vacation, nothing for savings, nothing for automobiles and radios. The Conference board even insists that Christmas gifts must be made out of the fifty-five cents a week allowed for church and charity.

But meager and vulnerable as they are from the point of view of adequacy, how many workers in the richest land on earth are able to achieve them? That is the question to which I vainly sought an answer through all the 934 pages of this report on economic changes. It is not answered. It could not be, without knocking the bottom from beneath this heavily weighted, though by no means evenly distributed, cargo of our national prosperity.

The answer, however, is to be gleaned from the pages of the report. The average wage for factory workers last year was $1,246, full-time earnings, remember, taking no account of unemployment. There is a gap, you see, not of 2.3 per cent, but of more than 50 per cent between wages and what we euphemistically term a fair standard of living. The *News Bulletin* of the Bureau of Economic Research, for February, 1929, comes to us with a front page chart bearing the caption, "Wage Earners Participate in National Prosperity." Four lines are drawn, representing the ups and downs of wages for four groups of employees between the years 1909 and 1927. The groups are railway trainmen, other railway laborers, factory operatives, and agricultural workers. All four lines show an upward trend until they reach the years 1920 and 1921. Then there is a sudden fall, with a very gradual rise since that time. On another page, the graph is corrected to represent the changing purchasing power of the dollar. The lines approach an almost horizontal position after 1921, although there is a slight upward trend for railway trainmen, and possibly for agriculture. We are warned, however, in a note, that unemployment has been ignored, that these are merely what the wage workers might have hoped to earn, if they had worked full time. The note is pertinent, since the period covered includes the worst unemployment crisis in our history, that of 1921, and an ominous recurrence in 1927, which threatens to become permanent.

The railway trainmen are the only group of workers who could possibly have earned a living wage. The others fell from seven to fourteen hundred dollars below such a sum. It must be said for agriculture, which indicates the fourteen-hundred-dollar gap, that its cost of living was probably not nearly so high as that of the urban worker. There was gap enough, however, between wages and the cost of living, to send a million workers from the farm, and to force 40 per cent of the remainder into mortgaged indebtedness in order to survive.

Yet the heading "Wage Earners Share in the National Prosperity" is flaunted on the front page of the *Economic Research Bulletin* without apology. When challenged with the facts which have just been presented, the answer is that which we have been given. The wage of the individual is not to be considered in this reckoning of the standard of living. The family wage is the real unit, and we have no data in regard to that.

We must correct that impression. In one of the most comprehensive investigations which was ever made in this country, that of woman and child wage earners, the family wage which prevails throughout the cotton industry was studied in great detail.

There the family always has been, and still is, the economic unit. With what result? Seventy per cent of these families were found to be living in poverty, 40 per cent in a state of semistarvation. The strife in those southern mills today which is attracting the attention of the nation is a protest against the evils that are an inherent part of such a system. The family wage always means a scale too low to permit any individual worker to earn enough to maintain his family in decency. And yet every family begins with dependent children, needing the whole of a mother's care, needing the father's living wage. All of our ideals of social progress are away from the conception of the family as the economic unit. Progressive legislation in most of our states has striven to prolong this period of dependency to fourteen years as a minimum in many, to sixteen and even eighteen in a few. As our civilization becomes more complicated, any true conception of progress must recognize the need for prolonging this period of dependency, not only until the child shall have reached physical maturity but until he shall have received an education which will assure his intelligent participation in this bewildering industrial civilization into which he is born.

To make the family rather than the adult wage earner bear the burden of economic support is to destroy the unit for whom the support is intended. The cotton industry bears witness to this fact—the cotton mills, with their starvation wages, with their toiling nursing mothers, with their child labor, with their high infant mortality, with their high adolescent mortality, with their high adult mortality, with only the death rate for the aged keeping its normal rate because there are so few of the aged left to die—there we see the price that society must pay for the conception of the family as the economic unit in industry. It is a pity that the report which bears the signature of the president of the United States should condone any such system in recounting the changes which have led to nation-wide prosperity.

Let us conclude this unwritten chapter with a warning. The committee, in its introductory remarks, has this to say:

> The Survey has proved conclusively what has long been held theoretically to be true: that wants are almost insatiable; that one want when satisfied, makes way for another. The conclusion is that economically we have a boundless field before us, that there are new wants that will make endlessly for new wants as fast as they are satisfied. . . . . In 1928 there were seventeen million homes wired for electricity. A large percentage of them had flat-irons, but less than one-third of them had washing machines, slightly more than a third had vacuum cleaners, less than five per-cent had electric refrigerators. . . . . Seventy per-cent of our American homes are without the radio. We are far from the saturation point in connection with any of these devices. We seem only to have touched the fringe of our potentialities.

We must bring home to this committee a most significant fact: not one of these standardized budgets, which demands an income of about $2,000 a year, allows a single penny for the purchase of these electrical devices.

We have called attention earlier to the fact that the whole of the apparently large shipments of fresh fruits and vegetables were merely sufficient in quantity to satisfy the needs of that upper quarter of our population who own the whole of the nation's wealth. Here we see that these electrical appliances, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and radios, have in the same manner as yet been provided to only a quarter of the people. Says the committee again:

> We have long since lost all fear concerning our food supply. . . . . The slogan of the full dinner pail is obsolete. . . . . The rapidly increasing number of families in the United States having a considerable margin of earnings available for "optional consumption,"—optional in the sense that this portion of the income may be saved or spent, and if spent, the manner of its spending may be determined by the tastes of the consumer, or the nature of the appeals made to him by the industries competing for his patronage,—presents one of the marked characteristics of the recent economic situation.

A dangerous optimism in face of the facts! A stupid blindness that can lead only to catastrophe! This rapid expansion of industry that has already dispensed with nearly a million men, this strikingly increased consumption of luxuries, is, by the Bureau's own figures, limited to supplying the demands of only a fourth of the people; and only a fourth of the people have any wealth; only a fourth have incomes large enough to provide the actual necessities of life. The average wage in all the manufacturing industries is only $1,246 a year, taking no account of unemployment—six hundred dollars below the sum that is needed to provide a family of five with necessities, six hundred dollars below a budget that allows no margin for savings, no margin for this thing called "optional consumption."

The automobile will be advanced at once to allay our fears. Today there are nearly 25,000,000 automobiles and trucks registered in America, just about one to a family. Yet we know quite well that there are millions of families who do not possess an automobile. The explanation is to be found in a number of different factors. In the first place, there are more than 3,000,000 families who own more than one car, some of them one for each member of the family. The richer the family, the more cars it is likely to possess. The same thing is not true of these other electrical devices for which we anticipate an infinitely expanding market. No matter how prosperous a family may be, it can find use for no more than one washing machine, one vacuum cleaner, and usually one radio. Moreover, styles change so rapidly in automobiles that the family of large income thinks nothing at all of getting a new model each year. Then, too, the automobile is subjected to a use that causes it to wear out in a few years' time. Vacuum cleaners and washing machines will apparently last a lifetime. In our own household, we have had four automobiles during the time in which we have owned one washing machine.

Another significant fact is the number of automobiles that are owned by the farmers, more than five million in 1927. The automobile has practically supplanted the horse drawn vehicle on the farm, and that vehicle was regarded, not as a luxury, but as a necessary part of farm equipment. We have to remember, too, that the automobile has entered into keen competition with our railroads and street railways as public carriers, both for freight and passenger traffic. In addition to all this, we must realize that the statistics indicate the number of cars that are registered, and anything which will run at all must be registered. A boy in San Diego bought a Ford a few weeks ago for five dollars, in which he drove from California to Colorado. The beauty of it is that the boy's piece of salvaged junk assumes all the statistical dignity of a Lincoln or a Cadillac, when it enters the parade of American prosperity.

And, finally, we must remember that there is probably not an automobile manufacturer in the country who is not facing the gravity of his situation, knowing, as he does, that his particular industry is near the saturation point, so far as the domestic market is concerned.

Other industries cannot hope for the degree of expansion that has characterized the automobile industry during the last twenty-five years, unless—and here we come back to our warning—unless the wages of American workers are enormously increased. The phenomenon that is known among social workers as the "rising tide of relief" is enough to warn us, without other considerations. During these same years in which our national wealth has been accumulating in undreamed-of proportions, when our national income has been increasing as rapidly as our wealth, the Russell Sage Foundation informs us that our less heralded public and private charities have increased their expenditures 132 per cent in the direct relief of the poverty that has been the concomitant of wealth.

What is the significance of all this to the social worker? Much greater, I hope, than some of our critics would have us believe. Mr. Epstein, executive secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, in an article in *Current History* last June called "The Soullessness of Social Work," presented a sickening contrast between the achievements of social workers twenty-five years ago and those of today. He asserts:

> The pioneer social workers stand identified with the most important reform movements of the twentieth century. Prevention of distress and misery by fundamental programs of protection and social legislation was their dominant keynote. The modern social worker no longer appeals to the conscience of the people for the eradication of social evils. His preoccupation is adjusting people to life. He has acquired a technique, and his highest aim is to do a good case work job.

There are other indications that there may be grounds for Mr. Epstein's criticism. Porter R. Lee, in a recent number of the *Survey,* is reported as saying:

> Is the permanent function of social work concerned with broad problems of social policy, with the leadership of public opinion in matters of social welfare, or is it to be restricted to expert service applied to specific problems of human adjustment? The two are not necessarily incompatible, but they are not easily combined in one movement. The history of social work reveals an impressive leadership of the first type in American life, but the tendency in recent years seems to have been steadily in the other direction. The precise niche to be occupied by social work in American life will not be determined as an assignment made by some outside authority, but largely by the conceptions held by social workers of their own responsibilities.

May we add at this point that the conceptions held by social workers of their responsibilities is determined in an increasingly large measure by the kind of teaching that is done in our schools for social work? I remember that in my own day at the New York School the people who fired us with enthusiasm were such leaders as Owen R. Lovejoy, of the National Child Labor Committee, John Elliot, of Hudson Guild, Florence Kelly, of the Consumers' League, and Edward Devine, of the School itself. If one came with a faulty conception, he departed with a new sense of responsibility. There was no question of the fundamental causes which held our allegiance then.

A recent graduate of one of our schools for social work attended a meeting not long ago on unemployment. As she left, she remarked quite loftily, "What do social workers know about unemployment? That is labor's problem. Our job is case work."

I am not opposed to the case work method. I have been a case worker myself too long for that. Indeed, it was through first-hand contacts with the victims of unemployment, of low wages, and of the more insidious fear and anxiety and sense of insecurity which are the products of poverty, that my faith in a better social order was strengthened and sustained.

A parallel comes at once to my mind. Suppose that General Gorgas had gone down into the Canal Zone with a staff of physicians, case workers in the medical field. Suppose that they had striven valiantly with each case of yellow fever as they found it, making accurate observations of pulse and temperature, and other dangerous symptoms, working with genuine sympathy and kindliness, even with a kind of scientific precision, triumphant over an occasional cure, helpless before the majority who died. Suppose that neither they nor General Gorgas had evinced any concern about the causes of this disease, or had possibly attempted to find its cause in the particular physical and psychic makeup of those who were its victims. The probabilities are that this great engineering work would never have been completed. The effort, however, might have continued for years. The workers in the Canal Zone could have gone on increasing their numbers and their budgets until they rivaled some of our more successful community chests in their records of achievement.

Poverty is likewise a plague that affects humanity. Even this report on our national prosperity does not obscure that fact. Its cause is as definitely established as is that of yellow fever. It is the prevailing wage scale in American industry. All other causes are merely contributory, or else the disguised resultant of that. I remember that when we were down in the southern cotton mills, some of us smiled tolerantly, others flinched resentfully, at the pitiful spectacle of so called welfare work which was attempted in a few of the mills. It was so obviously ineffective for a people who were engaged wholly in the primitive struggle for bread.

May we not look forward to the time when our case work agencies will feel that the public's deepest concern is with their failures, and with the reasons for those failures; when they will believe that a part of their responsibility, at least, is that of presenting the data which shall lead to true social reform; when they will proclaim, with one accord, that the most needed of all reforms in the richest nation on earth is the establishment of a living wage?

SOCIAL WORKERS AND LABOR UNIONS: SOCIAL WORK TOUCHES AN ORGANIZED INDUSTRY

Nell Scott, Case Supervisor, Family Welfare Association, Pittsburgh

THIS discussion will be simplified if certain limitations are made. For this half hour, in speaking of social work, I shall have in mind only family case work. Practically all mention of union labor will refer to the United Mine Workers of America in so far as they have organized the soft coal industry. Those limitations make it possible to speak clearly. Family case work has more relationships, perhaps, with union labor than many other forms of social work. Their common interest in the economic assets of the family is the strongest tie.

My acquaintance with the United Mine Workers came in the winter of 1927–28 when the whole district was out on a strike following the failure of the operators to re-sign the Jacksonville Agreement in April, 1927. The employees of one company had been out since August, 1925, because the company, at that date, had abrogated the earlier agreement. One of the more spectacular aspects of this conflict was that the operators in many instances ordered the miners from the company houses, either to house strike breakers or more finally to sever their relationship. The union built barracks were long, low buildings of unseasoned lumber, divided off into small rooms with thin partitions. Families were assigned two or more rooms according to the number of members. These barracks were, in many instances, built near main highways of travel, and perhaps did more than any one thing to attract sympathetic attention to the human element in the strike. The local newspapers gave much publicity to the living conditions in the mining barracks. This publicity was reinforced by the reports of many individuals who could not help being impressed by the desolate, dreary camps, hollow squares of flimsy buildings about a depressing expanse of mud.

Under the stimulus of public opinion built up in this way, a group of business men organized a fund to alleviate human suffering. The method of organization of this fund had in itself great publicity value because of the announcement in the morning paper that fifty men had agreed to subscribe a thousand dollars apiece immediately. Not quite this was actually subscribed, but if the acute condition had lasted more could have been raised. With a much smaller fund collected through the efforts of local clergymen, a Joint Administration Committee was organized and social workers were put in charge of the actual field work.

That is the bare outline of an interesting, stimulating experience. Of course, in many senses it was not case work but the administration of relief funds. From the first, one met close at hand social situations, especially problems involving medical service, that one could not quite ignore and be a social worker. In the later period it became a little easier to take time to help in this way.

It would be more practical, I feel, if we, the family agencies, talked of the points whereby we might supplement or complement the labor organization. If we did, we would more nearly face reality. The mutual aims of union labor and social work are apt to find themselves in the realm of the abstract, in terms of ultimate goals, or, perhaps, even in pious wishes. Our mutual aims are, of course, to enable more people to live more richly and more abundantly, but we both could give lip service to that noble sentiment and accomplish nothing. The heart, the essential point of the union movement, is in that it is a joint effort of folk engaged in the same craft, or in the same industry, to better their wages and to improve the conditions under which they labor. It is not only a joint effort, but the "group" in craft or industry is the unit factor. It attempts to make the best bargain for those who already work in the field organized or who may enter. Many unions introduce the idea in words at least that a man must be a competent workman before he is a member. In reality, he has to be able to fulfil some minimum requirements of performance. With the changes that are now recognized as taking place in industry, it probably could be accepted here that there must be some changes either in form of organization, in conception of internal policy, or in an enlargement of objectives by union labor to continue even the past achievement, much less to expand their sphere of influence. Granting that the change will be slowed up by the measure of institutionalization that has crept over the union and by the personal stake of many of the leaders in the continuance of things as they are, when the change does come the new conception may have as its principal drive the idea of collective participation instead of collective bargaining, yet still the idea of joint action.

Case work has just the opposite approach. The individual differences, the individual adjustment, are the groundwork of the familiar investigation, diagnosis, and treatment. Case work carries that implication as much as union labor carries the essential quality of group solidarity. We accept, because he is, the man to whom the union as an institution is a religion, the man to whom the call to group loyalty is no stimulus, the man who eagerly responds at first but faints by the wayside when some special test is imposed, or, perhaps, fails only in his ability to sustain interest consistently even when he has glimpses that his own future may be materially benefited. The case worker meets any one of these men in the particular combination of circumstances to which his life history has brought him, thinks of him, of his attitudes and relationships, not only in industry but in family life, of his chances of release from whatever impedes his potential self-expression.

In that statement there is indicated the other major aspect in which case work has an approach. The union sees him in but one relationship. The description in any terms of case work conveys the interest we, perforce, show in the variety of possible life experiences rather than the idea that salvation for the individual comes in the new industrial day for all. In practical terms, for us it was the first of these two points, the differentiated treatment for the individual, that was harder to clarify. To the end of our cooperative effort there were still representatives of the union quite friendly who did not follow our reasoning when we decided against taking the money we had and dividing it equally among all in the given area. Practically, the union in dispensing its own relief, which in its total was much larger, in its family allotments much smaller than ours, toward the last did modify by taking into account the earnings of children, or other sources of help even if meager. One of our happiest experiences was with the president of one of the locals, who was so suspicious when we first offered our help that he insisted on accompanying the visitor on her first calls. Months later he was recalling the day "we" went through the mud to the head of the Run. The picture of a woman climbing to that outpost during a January thaw made its impression, because he had never met a social worker before. But he went on to describe how it first came to him what the "girls" were trying to do. He is no less a good union man now that he has become an advocate of differentiated help for the individual.

As far as social workers are concerned, there is a state of affairs to make one much more rueful. Perhaps we may assume that the leaders in social work will take the idea that labor should be organized with some matter-of-courseness. One might think that the gains made by labor and for labor in the last generation in the way of a shorter working day and a six-day week were to be accepted without question as social goods, that it seemed entirely appropriate that social workers should join the effort to obtain those particular advantages. It might be expected that social workers would realize that those gains had been made only by a struggle, and that even now anything that could be done to consolidate them was part of the social worker's task. Yet I was chagrined and startled to find one of the staff of a family case work agency actually writing to an employer, at the behest of her client, asking him to give the employee seven days' work a week because his large family and other complications made an increased income desirable. The company politely but firmly replied that the policy of the firm did not permit such practice. My chagrin was intensified because that particular steel company should have such a request on the agency's letterhead. Yet, curiously enough, the worker who did this was a college graduate, having taken courses in labor problems, and was the daughter of a worker in the steel industry who had suffered a permanent injury during his thirty years' service with one steel company (not the one to which the letter was addressed).

Last year, at the time when my own organization released more workers than they could well afford, to help the miners, a field worker suggested to a client who happened to be without employment that he go out and apply for a position as strike breaker. She, too, was supposed to have had some presentation in her college years of the worker's right to organize. She had no positive point of view; she was not the daughter of an operator; her early life had not molded her into the attitude of the employing class. She might well have been the one to present the point of view of social work to many a union man.

Episodes of this sort must have happened in other family agencies. There are, probably, people in social work now who are opposed to the idea of organization among workers. In many individual instances our friends in the labor camp may be disappointed in the lack of sympathetic appreciation. Last year I remember how hard it was to maintain a strict neutrality, which was the policy upon which we had agreed to quicken effective relief administration. Some of the workers were not alive to the emotional conflict in the individual miner's mind. They did not understand the recoil from the word "scab." They spoke as if it were a casual matter when one man would give up the struggle and join the ranks on the other side of the fence. There is nothing inherent, of course, in this relationship that makes it impossible for a case worker to learn appreciation of these values. She has learned, for instance, the difficulties of adjustment of a Dalmatian fisherman in a steel mill of America; she can also learn this. It simply means that we cannot take it for granted that our field workers, to the last woman, are aware and are sympathetic; and the youngest may have to represent us in this respect.

There is one function of the union that does not have a close parallel in the program of a family agency. It is the important function of propaganda. Their propaganda must differ from that which the social worker uses to convince the contributing public his cause justifies support. It differs from the methods used to advocate a reform or even to persuade that social work as an institution fills any need. The identification of the social worker with his cause is something just a little different from the fervor characteristic of the union leader, or union representative, if we except the business agent who has forgotten his earlier loyalties. There is a keener personal edge to participation in the labor struggle. It is more of a struggle. There are two sides; material stakes are won or lost, principles with immediate practical implications prevail or are defeated. Perhaps the rôle of friendship here will be as holder of the bag of facts. Any propaganda either blurs or sharpens the truth. This means that an examination of any selection of our case records will not give material for a scientific study of an industrial crisis or even of working conditions. The forces that select our case loads are too varied. Acquaintanceship with the situations that are recorded in our files would give "leads" for such a study and would be of especial value in indicating the directions in which lay some of the human costs.

In the soft coal region, mining communities lie, as one would expect, in comparatively small isolated units. In our particular district, social agencies of any kind had had the minimum of contacts. Because it was a community of one industry, the whole population of each village might feel equally the impact of the same forces. All might be expected to be the helpless recipients of aid. But, somehow, many individuals and families made their own adjustments without any assistance. For instance, one local that originally had a membership of 335 was reduced to 200 when we first took stock of the situation. One hundred eight of the original 335 had lived in company houses. Thirty-eight of these had already moved on to other sections, leaving 70 to occupy the barracks. During our period of activity there was a constant trickle of departures. Possibly the men with the larger families stayed. The average number of members in our first thousand families was 7.5. The man who owned his own home stayed. The man with a weak allegiance to the union left. The younger man with few dependents could move more easily. This left an undue proportion of the aged and handicapped, so that social histories of the men we knew would never give a picture of the social problems for soft coal miners as a whole. Our material would not even present a picture for the employees of one company. In a group of villages attached to one company's mines, there had been fifteen hundred men employed. We never knew as many as three hundred of them. The ones we did know were no cross section, no real sample; they were those for whom the costs were especially high. We knew those who, by reason of age, physical handicap, emotional inadequacy, could not make the difficult transfer to another place or to another craft. The strike was never officially declared over; the men were allowed to go back as individuals to a much lower wage and with the loss of union protection for working conditions; the principal companies were rather frank in rejecting the aged, the handicapped, the trouble makers. As a family agency we still have them as our problem.

In many relationships between organized labor and employers, the social worker is not in a simple situation of steering a path of clear thinking between the two. She may well be in a position to ask, "Which is the union?" Some of the situations reported of the North Carolina and Tennessee textile industries were repeated line for line by the divisions between the United Mine Workers, the "Save the Union" Committee, and the National Miners' Relief. The leadership was divided on basic questions; the rank and file were divided into two camps. With all the economic questions involved, with the philosophies of organization at stake, with the partisan loyalty for particular leaders to give fervor—with all these, the obligation of the social worker is more than ever to give service in the field she knows. It is her obligation to weigh each episode by the tests she has learned. My friends still like maliciously to remind me of my outbreak last year when, in the middle of things, I urged a "passion for facts." In our case it meant reminding the financial leaders that the "big business" men, with their superior training in their own field, with their greater ease of organization because of the comparative smallness of their numbers, with larger financial resources, had not been able to solve the coal *impasse*, and that the miners with their corresponding disadvantages could hardly be expected to see any more clearly for their own local, nor could they be expected to show statesmanship for the whole industry. We were polite, as well as frank, and did not remind them that they themselves had failed in the technique of organization when just one company had repudiated the agreement, which did more than any one thing to inject bitterness into local feeling. It meant also testifying to much of the public, as well as to the business leaders, that not all miners were communists and that communists could not be recognized by inspection, and that even when identified, the foundations of public welfare were not shaken if for no other reason than that the total number of the feared brotherhood was small. Our position meant defending to the old line union man many of our friends on the liberal side of this same charge, although "Bolshevik" was the word we met here more than "Communist." There was not much we could say to the rank and file in the conservative wing of the union. Whatever one's private opinion might have been concerning the mistakes that may have been made in union policies, in the blind following of old fetishes, that was not the moment to advise the transfer of old allegiances to new. Who were we to say what the new allegiances should be, because in the group of the insurgents there was not one position, but several?

To the left wing supporters we had two things to say. First, on the question of propaganda. No one knew better than we, who went day after day into the same communities, how to measure the distress. Perhaps we were too literal-minded when we shrank from statements that hundreds of thousands of miners' children were starving; when case stories of family situations that we knew were reported in terms that could not be reconciled with the facts; when other case stories went out whose internal evidence indicated a variation from a statement representing all the truth; when in an article appearing in a well known weekly magazine of April, 1928, the writer spoke of five pneumonia deaths occurring in three days in barracks. Our representative visited every day for months that particular lot of barracks and knew there had been only one pneumonia death during the whole winter. The low incidence of morbidity was not an impression, but was checked by the school attendance of the children, which was above the average. It was still further checked by the public health nurses who went from door to door once a week through the severe winter weather, and at longer intervals later. Yet the stories of widespread illness were used as propaganda. It is to be accepted, I am sure, that appeals for the most desperate needs in the world must be out of focus intellectually to be effective emotionally, yet there were facts which seemed to us convincing without exaggeration. For instance, families would go back under the best of circumstances with debts of $1,000.00 when, in running over our lists just as they came, the first man had a $265.00 grocery debt and a $2,000.00 mortgage; when the next seven averaged a grocery bill of $260.00; when savings of $550.00 and $400.00 and $800.00, respectively, were gone; when families of our large average size were living on less than $5.00 a week for food; when the union relief was giving $1.00 for each man, 50 cents for each woman, and 20 cents for each child weekly; when even this grant was suspended at intervals during the late winter; when grocers in towns of two hundred families were carrying credit for groceries to the amount of $20,000.00; facts like these surely might carry weight. I suppose we failed in our public duty when we did not write letters to the weeklies of public opinion contributing our picture of the facts, or even contradict a letter that also appeared in the columns of one paper appealing for the financing of a doctor in a town that was named, because the doctor who had formerly served the community could no longer maintain his existence. He accepted a position in the city but found he was forced, out of concern for the people, to commute the forty-two miles in the evening to serve them. That was the story. As a matter of fact, in addition to this one doctor who left the community after a short stay, there were two doctors in good medical standing who had been in the community, one for seventeen years and one for three or four years. We could find no instance of a patient refused medical service by either physician when his services were needed. It is true that the doctors did not agree in their sympathies with the two factions in the union, one being a liberal and the other a conservative.

We did spend more effort in pointing out both to the right and the left wing that relief should take into account certain very simple nutrition principles. We learned much from the miners themselves in this respect. They had made extraordinary adaptations, but we did feel that a weekly order for a family of six or seven or eight, which included one pound of bacon, one can of tomatoes, one can of beans, four pounds of flour, one pound of rice, and two pounds of sugar, did not represent a happy choice for the family's physical health. This is a fair sample of orders given by the Miners' Relief. We also urged that the mother of the family could have done a more adequate service for her children with almost the same expenditure if she had selected the food herself, and that the small merchant who had made enormous sacrifice for the cause might have, by the other method (the giving by order or cash rather than in goods) received some small financial benefit. To the retort of the left wing that the relief was intended primarily for propaganda we had no answer.

Industrial crises—industrial relationships have their individual differences, too. My first hand experience is limited to this tragic defeat of the attempt by soft coal workers to negotiate through group effort and the unsuccessful attempt to organize ten years ago the unskilled laborer in the steel industry. With this handicap of limited experience, with the recognition of the variation in the individual situation, I still venture to maintain that family case workers are doing a different thing in a different way, that our first obligation is to cultivate an awareness in our own ranks of the struggle and its significances in the individual's personality development as he participates with his fellows. The social worker can be of service with her peculiar contribution only if she is something of a nonparticipant. For instance, the union accepted our help only when we promised to maintain a neutral attitude, when we promised never to suggest that a man go back into the mine. For our part we retained the right to help strike breakers should they stand in need as human creatures. The union had a right to that position, even though they had other proof that we were the warmest friends of labor.

As early as Christmas, 1927, some of my friends in the liberal wing were convinced that the strike as a piece of strategy had failed. Events proved them right, though I was prepared to accept their judgment at the time. From December, 1927, to November, 1928, when the district leaders advised the men to return on the best terms they as individuals could obtain, we helped to mitigate inadequately immense costs for the individual in a useless struggle. The union leader might justify that as a piece of strategy because the Senate Commission's investigation was first broached—was then under way—was then being written. How cynical we were about the possible outcome of the investigation and how depressingly pathetic to hear many of the miners so confidently putting their trust in it! Time has justified our cynicism, but a rank and file social worker administering relief should never, it seems to me, have introduced that conflict into the mind of the rank and file miner. She might do it only if she were going into the field of propaganda, if she were participating shoulder to shoulder with him in the fight. These are two rôles. The social worker can help in either way, but may maintain only one rôle at a time. She must do the best informed and the clearest thinking, in order that she may not confuse her function as an exponent of the art of developing personality through many experiences, not the least of which is group participation.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASE COMPENSATION IN CALIFORNIA

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THE tragic situation in one of the states, whereby a slow and deadly process of industrial poisoning does not come within the scope of the workmen's compensation system, has aroused renewed interest in the whole subject of occupational diseases. It is well that this is so. The injured in industry are entitled to consideration, whether the incapacity follows a fall, a recognized disease of the business, or a condition that is clearly caused or exacerbated by the work.

The writer is strongly opposed to the naming of occupational diseases in a workmen's compensation act. This unfortunate custom in the United States followed the English law of the earlier years, which specified twenty-four diseases recognized as risks of employment. This meant, and still means, that various business enterprises and the application of scientific processes are immune from connection with the care and relief of sufferers, unless specifically named in law. This is just as obsolete in dealing with social needs as would be differentiation between accidents under a compensation system.

The word "injury" is advocated.—In the early years of workmen's compensation in this country, California and Massachusetts adopted a sensible plan of using the word "injury" instead of "accident." Nothing could be simpler and fairer. At once the cry went up that the doors would swing wide open for all sorts of claims that came wholly within the domain of sickness. The experience of a dozen years has shown this assertion to be unfounded, and its importance deserves special mention.

An applicant for compensation has too many barriers to surmount before he can make headway with a claim that is not associated with industry. First come the employer and the insurance carrier. The latter is skilled in looking after its affairs, and rejects claims that are believed to lack merit. Next comes the Industrial Accident Commission, usually efficient to ascertain causes and effects. Searching investigation follows. Finally there is the assistance of expert medical men, who are unlikely to be swayed by sentiment. All down the line are those who must "be shown," and the litigant, standing alone, has little chance of success, unless the evidence entitles him to an award. And this is as it should be. The day will come when ill health will take its place in the realm of social obligation, but that day has not arrived, and industry should not be assessed for sickness on the basis that now governs workmen's compensation.

Futility of naming diseases.—A main objection to naming occupational diseases is that when experience shows that there should be an addition to the list, there generally follows the pulling and tugging before a state legislature, which develops into a struggle between contending interests, who are apt, in part at least to lose sight of what should be fundamental. An industrial accident commission can approach the subject on a scientific basis. The average legislature cannot.

Will insurance rates go up?—Insurance coverage is based on the law of average. If workmen's compensation were turned into a medium of health insurance, there would follow such vigorous protests from different quarters that some action would have to be taken. This is not presented as an argument against health insurance—far from it—but it is essentially just that if industry is charged with its human wastage, it should not be charged, on the present basis, with social handicaps for which business is not to blame.

All insurance rates provide for the occasionally unusual occurrence. In California, for example, it becomes known, from statistical information, just about how many life pension cases will follow accidents. Likewise, occupational diseases are credited into the rates. California had 16 deaths from such diseases during the four years 1924, 1925, 1926, and 1927. During the same years there were one permanent and 5,315 temporary injuries on the disease side. These, added into a great volume of nearly 1,000,000 industrial deaths and injuries for four years, do not present any special insurance problem. The insurance increase for occupational diseases has not exceeded 1 per cent of the cost of all other injuries.

What about physical examinations?—Nothing in the California records warrants uneasiness over the problem of physical examinations of workers, as related to occupational diseases. If examinations of employees are designed to make sure that both the man and his employer will be better served by a placement affording the best protection against either sickness or accident, then both society and the business benefit. If examinations are to be based on discarding the alleged unfit from work, it will not be long until a revolt will assume such proportions that public interest will demand a remedy.

Safety here as elsewhere.—A way to prevent the spread of occupational diseases and to conserve health is to bring the principle of safety against accidents into this newer field. Studies should be made of fatigue, in its relation to employment. Poor ventilation and humidity are foes of right economic living. Defective vision is on the border line that may separate the industrial accident from the occupational disease. Industrial health is new to most of us, and yet it is vital in the consideration of any problem affecting health and accidents in industry.

When occupational diseases are recognized as part of a workmen's compensation system, the efforts to remove them and to eradicate the causes will receive an impetus that nothing else can give. The experience all over the United States with industrial accidents shows this statement to have foundation. And when good air and light, and all the other concomitants of conducting business on a civilized plane, are introduced into workshops and factories, the improved physical gains, the contentment, and the larger output are aids that will keep occupational diseases confined to known classifications, and ultimately direct intelligent effort to combat even those health difficulties heretofore considered as insurmountable.

When men are susceptible to industrial poisons, as sometimes is the case, they should be removed from the source of contamination. This does not mean displacement; it means that a change of occupation in the establishment will remove the employee from the irritant, conserve his health, make him more useful as a worker, and give the employer better returns.

Should occupational diseases be limited?—The answer is in the negative. The working out of an adequate law to include diseases considered occupational will automatically cover those so well known, but there will remain the question of the odd case in its relation to a disease not generally found in occupational lists. The famous Wisconsin typhoid fever case is in point. An employee was obliged to use contaminated water. His employment removed him from the protection given by scientific methods as applied to community life. The Wisconsin Industrial Commission rightly awarded compensation and the decision was not reversed. Does this mean that all typhoid fever cases are to be compensated? No. It means that an applicant for compensation must show a connection between the disease and his work, something extremely difficult to do.

A number of men in California were awarded medical care and compensation when the evidence showed that they had to live in a labor camp where the engineers had overlooked a hidden drain which contaminated the water supply. As in the Wisconsin case, the presence of typhoid fever germs was established. Perhaps California's best known case in this respect followed a death benefit when a hospital steward died from influenza. The evidence showed that the man had to work day and night for a long period. His powers of resistance were lowered. He was in continual contact with the disease. He carried in the living and removed the dead. The medical testimony was practically unanimous that the steward came under the doctrine of "special exposure." The Industrial Accident Commission was a unit in voting the death benefit. The Supreme Court upheld the Commission's ruling, and stressed the "special exposure" doctrine, all seven justices concurring.

Another notable California case was that of a motion picture actor who had to stand in water on a cold day for a number of hours. He suffered a chill which the doctors testified developed into pneumonia, asserting that the chain of events brought into play the theory of "special exposure."

In one or two instances awards have gone out for tuberculosis claims, but only when the medical evidence was clear that an industrial accident of severity "lighted up" the dormant disease.

These and similar cases are rare, and are just as attributable to industry as the more clearly defined mishaps. The effect on the sufferer is the same. His need is similar. Society has its claims to be considered. The employer has the protection of insurance. The latter is not cast in hard and fast lines, and the average is such that an occupational claim can be covered just like an industrial accident.

What should be the future attitude?—Out of a long experience in the domain of workmen's compensation, the writer believes that progress and fairness require inclusion of all cases that come reasonably within the meaning of the word "injury." The claimant should be required to prove his case, if doubt exists. If he does this, and if medical advice concurs, there seems no good reason why he should be excluded from the benefits of a workmen's compensation act. On the contrary, he should be considered as sustaining an "injury" within his employment.

An effort should be made to eliminate the naming of occupational diseases in existing laws so that trouble will be avoided during the days to come. There was a time when compensation acts differentiated between hazardous and non-hazardous employments, as though an injured shoe clerk was in a different status from a hurt iron worker. Happily that foolish line of demarcation has practically disappeared. There should be from now on a recognition of all those men and women who are disabled from injuries that have their bases in the work needed by nation and state.

A SAFETY PROGRAM FOR MARITIME WORK

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TO ATTEMPT to outline a program for any industry which is just starting in an organized way to control its accident frequency is a delicate task, indeed. For it means a consideration of many of the customs and practices of the industry which the casual observer would not connect with accident prevention work, and it also must mean applying general statements which are not true in individual cases but which appear to be representative of the greater part of that industry. It is with a realization of these dangers of being misunderstood, and a hope that it will be considered in the right spirit, that this brief paper is submitted.

There must be a mark to start from and a goal to work for, if a real program of progress is to be outlined. Employers are morally and legally responsible for the safety of the place of employment and the appliances and methods which they require their employees to use. This responsibility clearly includes adequate supervision. Financially, the employer who goes the farthest in living up to these principles is rewarded by greater productivity of labor and less expenditure for medical and compensation costs, through the elimination of certain classes of accidents. Economically, there can be no necessity for the marginal plants which "cannot afford" to come up to a reasonable safety standard. The goal sought is the elimination of "preventable" injuries. The experience of companies which have gone seriously into accident prevention work shows that at least one-half of the injuries may be eliminated, while maintaining or even improving the efficiency of the operations. Employees are morally responsible for the use of safeguards provided, for the compliance with rules and practices adopted for their protection, and for the protection of themselves generally, in so far as the employer's regular working methods will permit. It is upon these conceptions of the various responsibilities of industry in general that the stevedoring operations in American ports will be considered.

The maritime industry has certain handicaps to overcome which other industries lack, and the principle ones arise from its very nature, and are division of responsibility and irregular employment. The manager of the dock, the ship owner, the ship operator, and the stevedore can be entirely separate parties, each in control of factors influencing the accident hazards, while the stevedore is the sole employer of the longshoremen. This is the most serious obstacle to the proper equipment and maintenance of the vessels. Theoretically, the stevedore hires his men for working a single ship or even for only a few hours of work. Under such a system the building up of a spirit of loyalty to the employer and the training of men in safety is impossible. Practically, the situation is not so discouraging since many longshoremen work for a single employer throughout the year and can be reached through their loyalty and their self-interest.

The loading of ships is older than recorded history. Many traditions and customs have come down to the present day which had their origin in a different age. Economic and social conditions have changed radically within the active life of many of the men now in charge of our shipping industry. The ones which principally affect the accident frequency in stowing and discharging cargo are the increased size of the vessels, the keener competition since the war, which is expressed in pressure for quicker turn around of vessels in a port, change in the character of the longshoremen, and an increase in the number of men needed to meet "peak" conditions, and an increase in the number of stevedoring companies, which has brought about keener competition.

It has not been so many years ago that a stevedore had a week, two weeks, or even longer to discharge and load a vessel. He took his regular men, trained for the work, and worked them on the day shift only until the job was completed. Recently a large trans-Atlantic liner, delayed by storms, was stevedored and cleared in less than forty-eight hours. Such pressure inevitably increases the chance of injury to the workmen. This case is typical of the condition which has made it necessary for the industry to have available a larger number of longshoremen for a given tonnage. Even with increases in the hourly wage, it is doubtful that the average annual wage in the industry has increased. Formerly the majority of longshoremen were sailors ashore and accustomed to the discipline of the sea. Today this is not the case and there is a resistance to necessary discipline on the part of the average longshoreman. In many instances the perfect understanding between the ship operator and the stevedore has been broken by the new conditions, and they no longer work with the old time harmony.

Most of the men who supervise stevedoring operations are nautical men. Their training makes them peculiarly fitted for doing their work well. But this same training under the maritime laws and customs has not prepared them for dealing with the new labor problems or with the problems which have arisen under the compensation laws.

Two years ago the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act went into effect and brought about the greatest change in the industry as to the importance of its industrial accidents. Experience has proved that active safety work follows the application of workmen's compensation. The reasons are obvious. For the first time, probably, the seriousness of an industry's accident toll is brought to its attention, and the prevention of accidents as an economic necessity. The effect of the federal compensation law for longshoremen working upon vessels was evidenced by the increased interest displayed by firms and associations already working on their problems and by the taking up of the work for the first time by others.

Enough study of the problems has been made to state the main ones in general terms, and what has gone before is in a manner a background for them. The lack of cooperation and understanding between the responsible interests is one. The lack of information as to the general causes of the accidents has been the main reason for the many conflicting opinions and for much evading of responsibility. There has been a lack of proper supervision which has resulted in poor discipline and unsafe practices. The changed conditions have brought in a different class of labor, which has been organized and has concerned itself principally with questions remote from accident prevention.

These problems suggest their own answers, the principal questions open to debate being the means of attack. The work which has already been done in different ports may answer some of these. When the compensation law went into effect the ship owners had strong organizations, formed along geographic or national lines, which were taking care of other than safety interests. It was natural for these associations to consider it their function to assume the interests of their members in the new situation. These organizations taken together fully represent their groups. In some ports the stevedores have strong organizations, while in other places they are more loosely allied with the shipowners through committees attending to mutual interests. Through these channels they can act in an organized way. Labor has strong unions in most of the larger ports, through which the men can express themselves. Already some of the shipowners' associations have taken the initiative and have brought all of the groups together to consider accident prevention. This has been most successfully done on the Pacific Coast, where the industry has employed trained engineers for each principal port and has undertaken the practical work of cutting down the number of casualties. It is through these existing associations that the needed cooperation should and can be effected locally and in districts. When this has progressed a little farther, there should be no great obstacle in the road of agreeing upon a means of carrying on the work on a national scale.

The formulation of a set of safe working rules has been one of the means of bringing everyone together and also of collecting much valuable information on the causes of accidents. The work started individually at the ports of Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco has now brought the entire Pacific Coast together to produce a uniform code that is designed to meet the conditions which their combined research has disclosed. Galveston has formed a safety council, adopted and put into practice a set of rules; New Orleans and Boston are working toward the same end. In New York, the initiative was taken by the American Steamship Owners' Association, which developed a set of rules and later took the lead in bringing other associations in to secure their cooperation. Further consideration of these codes and an attempt to get an agreement upon one for national application is expected to bring about a still better understanding.

When the industry is finally agreed upon the essentials of a safe working code, this code should be made the backbone of each company's working policy. When this is done, the foundation for the solving of the second question is laid. The men who have worked on the code will know that each rule has been founded on past injuries. This knowledge will have to be passed on to the foremen. The foremen's dinners which are held on the Pacific Coast are the best known method of bringing home the responsible part which the foreman plays in accident prevention. It is through them that results can be expected.

The final test of the program will be in the individual companies. The cooperative work is showing what should be done and methods of doing it. Putting these into effect is the work of the company executive. Avoiding the injuring of his men is as important a part of the executive's and foremen's jobs as moving the cargo, and at present is probably the more lucrative part. It cannot be separated and put onto one man, but a trained man can be of great value in attending to the many details. Companies that have carried on consistent safety work over a considerable period can point the way for the others, and can also show a nice balance sheet as a result of their efforts.

It is vital to get the interest of the men aroused in the work and to break down their resistance to changes in working habits necessary for their protection. When the union officials have had a part in preparing safety rules they can reasonably be expected to use all of their influence in urging the men to obey them. So far, the results bear this out. The attitude of the men is going to be one of the big factors in the success of the work, since it is responsible for such a large percentage of their own injuries. It will be determined largely by the attitude of their local organization and that of their employer brought to them through their foremen. If these are right, posters and other means of bringing the causes of accidents home will be useful.

I have tried to show the problems and responsibilities of the different groups affected by stevedoring. The program outlined is for the industry itself to consider. In any method of enforcement, the real work and expense must rest on the owners and operators. The shipowners and stevedores wish to carry out the work through their own organizations and their own efforts. It is a large undertaking but has a successful precedent in the work that has been carried on for years on the Great Lakes by the Lake Carriers' Association, and a few industries which have done excellent work under nominal supervision.

The United States Employees' Compensation Commission, which administers the compensation for the longshoremen, is also charged with doing all within its power to prevent the injuries. It has attempted to get a thorough knowledge of the conditions as they exist and of the attitude and wishes of the industry, so as to develop its own program along the most useful lines. It has been interested in the development of the safety codes and ready to assist in their further development, and in harmonizing the different views expressed in them. Believing that more complete statistical information is needed, it is at present analyzing the accident reports for the last year in a more thorough manner. It is also considering the best method of securing fuller details on the accident reports so that its statistics will be of still further value to the industry. It also plans to study individual accidents where there is a chance of securing valuable information. It will do everything within its power to assist the industry in putting its safety program into effect and to watch the results that are obtained. With its present authority and facilities the extent of this cooperation is naturally limited, but as the needs of the situation are made plain, it is prepared to ask for such additional powers and funds as may be necessary to carry on its part in the work. Desiring to cooperate to the fullest extent, the Commission appreciates the friendly attitude of the industry and the earnest consideration that it has given this problem. It will work and hope for the success of its endeavors.

LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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THE title of one of the books written by the late Robert A. Woods, *The Neighborhood in Nation Building*, has particular significance in connection with the topic of the morning. Now Mr. Woods was one of the most profound community workers America has produced, and his thesis maintains that it is the welding together of the small, intensive, local units that gives strength to the city and through the city to the state, exactly as a state can be effective only in so far as its towns and cities produce for it assets, or as our country can be progressive only in so far as its states, and the units that create the state, are progressive.

Mr. Woods' argument is for strong neighborhoods, strong cities, strong states, and as a result a strong central government. Moreover, the book *The Neighborhood in Nation Building* focuses on the neighborhood as the most fundamental unit by which to gauge life in all its manifestations.

Is the thesis of the book sound? Is it not far fetched to speak of the neighborhood as the cornerstone of national strength? Is there today any organized neighborhood grouping as such? A large number of writers and speakers assert that neighborhoods in cities no longer exist.

To answer: There never was a time probably when cities were taking as careful an account of stock as at present. They are going through a searching self-appraisal, section by section. The whole impetus of zoning and city planning proves this. In a certain area of the United States where the competition for skilled labor is keen among a group of machine towns, one of the chambers of commerce of a certain city announces every neighborhood to be a beauty spot and that every section of the city is served with equally good schools. It is not good business, so to speak, to have slums. Certainly, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has driven this home from the point of view of health.

As to whether neighborhood life exists as such: it is usually the theorist who claims that it does not, because the practical worker finds neighborhood life quite as intensive a factor as a generation ago. It is true one meets the paradox of a marked sweep beyond the confines of neighborhood life in the range of interests and certain forces of association, while, at the same time, there is an intensification of local ties. That is, neighborhoods are more city-minded, interests are more varied, social contacts have widened, but, if anything, the sense of the neighborhood as such has strengthened. There are more local stores doing a thriving business, as the development of chain stores proves; more local motion picture houses are patronized by local folks. The ward boss is playing a more astute local game than ever. The complications of transportation tend to drive neighborhood groups back into themselves rather than to scatter them. No, from my point of view the sociologist who maintains there is no neighborhood life is wrong. He assumes that because interests have broadened, the local mind is no longer local. It is. He assumes that because people may go about more they do not stay in the neighborhood. They do. The neighborhood, instead of being less important in 1929, is more important than ever before; more important by far because not only is its value more universally recognized, but it is itself more conscious of its power. Note the increased decentralization not only of business enterprises but of libraries and recreation facilities. The elementary school long ago led the way. And now comes the decentralized high school, both junior high and senior high. In cities where a few years ago the charters were changed to create a small central governing council to work with the mayor, the charters have recently been amended in order to work back to a more nearly representative organization because of the insistence of the local wards that they be heard as local wards. This does not mean a return to the old tug of war between one section of a city and another, with the welfare of the city forgotten, because a slow process of education has been going on. Sections of cities now see themselves as organic parts of a whole and recognize how dependent each is upon the other. We have a long way yet to go but we are inching along in the right direction, and the full force of civic education should be applied to building up local strength for city unity.

Now as to the neighborhood as the most fundamental gauge of social organization. Mr. Woods knew one geographical district of the city in which he lived well. He shared its advantages and disadvantages. Had he taken up his residence in a section where the people had the means to free themselves from certain difficulties and then had he endeavored to work back to the less privileged ward, he would not have been able to carry into his efforts all that detail of fact which local residence gives. So, too, with every other neighborhood worker who has made contributions to our national assets. Dr. Taylor, who is here, will admit, I think, that he gained much of his strength from the neighborhood around Chicago Commons. A civilization can be measured best in the areas where its pressure is the greatest and where life is evolving. Has it ever occurred to you that the genius of the settlement movement rests upon its having been developed in close contact with neighborhoods, and the movement has a genius when one considers the creative ideas it has brought out and the part it has played in interpreting civic responsibility, to say nothing of the personalities it has developed since it was initiated in the early eighties?

On the other hand, local effort will not do much for society in general if it becomes too localized, nor will it cure the very condition which it is laboring to better. I remember back in 1910, when we were waging a campaign for a pure milk supply in my city, that one day I went to see a neighborhood worker who worked in a section where the infant mortality rate was high. I went to ask her to assist in backing the needed legislation for an increased number of milk inspectors. To my amazement she said she was so busy meeting the demands made upon her that she could not help. Where would we be today if Miss Addams had maintained that attitude and had not swung out from her settlement neighborhood to permeate our national thought with its social responsibility? Fortunately, not only for Chicago but for the entire country, from local experience she produced national results. Moreover, her *Twenty Years at Hull House* and *Spirit of Youth* and *The City Streets* present a series of flesh and blood lunettes that show clearly how far reaching a neighborhood worker's influence should be. Suppose Dr. Alice Hamilton had been content to treat the cases of occupational poisoning that were called to her attention and had not, because of the necessity which she saw, made of herself one of the foremost authorities on occupational poisoning, and had not fought for laboratory knowledge by which to protect hundreds of workers in dangerous trades? Suppose Lillian Wald had continued to treat the sick in a section of the East Side of New York and only the sick of that section, and had done nothing to organize the instructive district nursing methods which have spread throughout the world, to the relief of thousands upon thousands? Further, what do we not owe Miss Wald because she initiated medical inspection in the public schools and was instrumental in founding the Children's Bureau in Washington? These workers exemplify local responsibility for community welfare to the full.

No, one is not living up to the demand of one's calling as a neighborhood worker unless one is meeting given needs and then developing the ability and capacity to grapple with the underlying causes of those needs. On the contrary, because of need there is a clear cut duty to inaugurate or to take part in community effort which will in time check the duplication of the given difficulty and thereby help the many rather than the few.

During the last ten years, we have been living through a difficult period for the local worker who has tried to keep his balance in the scheme of things, because we have been thinking on a circumference of wide areas of thought. There has been a tendency to pull society up by the boot straps, so to speak. To the extreme internationalist, nationalism must give way. The League of Nations of and by itself, it would appear, will overcome many a sore spot of morality and unfairness. This has all had its value since it has widened our horizon and given us goals toward which to aim, but after all, there must be social props all along the way and those props are represented by the relationships of the intensive close range groups of which society is composed. So, to my way of thinking, the local neighborhood worker is one of the most essential of all agents in the situation providing that worker is constantly heading each day's activity out to the wider problem. Unless this is done, I will be frank to admit there can be much pottering about in neighborhood work without valuable results. One does not expect a kind of sentimentalist to accept this point entirely. Such a person is apt to maintain that a neighborhood worker's full duty is met by carrying on a series of clubs and classes for children because those activities are liked by children. But the challenge of childhood to us is greater than that involved in an activities program for their benefit. Their necessities are deep and impelling. Out of the experience of meeting and observing children we should test the theories of education, our recreational facilities, public and commercial, and the working world. No true social worker should stop along the way.

We are surrounded by homes. What is the story those homes are weaving? Is the home going to pieces? Is it trying to reorganize itself? How? We should know. Better to be wrong than to have no opinion at all. We should play our part in public opinion, which can be a very handicapping thing if it swerves in the wrong direction. You and I should meet the eugenist with the facts of our experience, which are as important as his science.

Unemployment? Are we thinking deeply enough to do anything about the tragedy of unemployment—which can, on the instant, overturn a large proportion of the assets which the community has built up?

The foreign-born? Have they the same relationship with our common life that they had a generation ago? I find that relationship so changed as to necessitate a different method of approach.

Now we neighborhood workers are day by day in the midst of these questions and many more. No group of workers in the entire range of action have such an opportunity. The neighborhood is indeed strategic. All forces, social, economic, political, are influencing the neighborhood; and the qualities of the human beings in our neighborhoods are, in their turn, influencing social, economic, and political forces. In the neighborhood, all these forces find their closest interrelation. No wonder, then, that the neighborhood is such a vantage point for social procedure and that the responsibility placed on the neighborhood worker is a definite one. This is particularly true of the settlement worker because of the very nature of settlement work and the purpose for which the settlement movement was founded.

Speaking now from the settlement point of view, in order again to exemplify the subject of the morning, it might be well to trace briefly the beginnings of settlements, since they were definitely established to aid in the solving of national questions. In the 1850's and 60's England feared for herself. Would she share the fate of her sister nation on the continent, which had been experiencing a series of minor revolutions? Was her house in order? What were the actual needs of her people? Now, such men as Charles Kingsley, William Morris, John Ruskin—even they—realized they did not actually know. They realized that they could not know with all subtlety of real knowledge just what were the results of poverty, distressing conditions of living, ignorance, difficult labor situations, nor could the latent strength of the people be gauged except by constant, first-hand study and contact together with the giving of opportunity at close range. So Toynbee Hall came into existence in London in 1883 in order to grapple with the social difficulties of the time. From the very first, Toynbee Hall became a kind of outpost for the testing of parliamentary action as it met or failed to meet the needs of the people, and a constructive force in urging the growth of government responsibility for increased opportunity for the people. Toynbee Hall did its local work and it also influenced the city of London and the British empire. Mrs. Sidney Webb in her book *My Apprenticeship* speaks of the founding of Toynbee Hall as marking an absolute change in the frontal attack on poverty and the ills of society. Canon Barnett was the first warden of Toynbee Hall. In speaking of Canon Barnett and of his wife, Mrs. Webb goes on to say: "They had become aware of the employment of labor at starvation rates; of the renting of insanitary tenements; of the absence of opportunities of education, for refined leisure and for the enjoyment of nature, literature and art among the denisons of mean streets. . . . ." As a result the Barnetts worked for a series of measures all involving increased public expenditure and enlarged resources under public administration.

Note here that the Barnetts were not content to do only for those who lived about Toynbee Hall, but that they obtained extra opportunities for the citizens of all London as the result of the needs made evident in their own district. They did what every settlement worker should always do, they incorporated, by means of law, added responsibilities to the social responsibility of the general community by seeing that more baths and workhouses were opened; that there were more open spaces so that every man, woman, and child might sit in the open air. It is also interesting, in passing, to point out that Canon Barnett was an advocate of old age pensions.

As in Great Britain so in this country; since Stanton Coit, who had resided at Toynbee Hall, founded the Neighborhood Guild, now the University Settlement, in New York City, in 1887, the settlements have been set to observe the relationships of society and to interpret the same, to tell the story of life. Further, settlements have been obligated to work for greater fairness of opportunity and to endeavor to increase every community asset which tends toward greater well-being. It is obligated to incorporate its knowledge into every sphere of action from business to government.

The pioneers in this field certainly have done their part. They have produced a valuable interpretative literature. Their personal influence in stimulating liberal thought and action has been great. The incorporation of kindergartens into the public schools, of vocational guidance, of vocational education, of night school procedure, owe much to the settlements. The cause of better housing owes much to Jacob Riis. Further, the settlements have done a great deal for workers in industry. Evidently, the pioneers did not stop with meeting local responsibility.

The future? The future presents even a greater challenge. We face acute stresses due to different economic levels; varying conditions of birth—racial, urban, rural; differences of political and religious beliefs. Sordid conditions of living must be done away with. Many a problem of everyday ethics is before us. The great question of leisure demands much of us.

Certainly our tasks are not finished. As Samuel Eliot Morison, the historian, states:

> America, in spite of poverty, has obtained a degree of comfort and a sense of security beyond the dreams of departed philanthropists. In this process many of the old rugged virtues have been lost but much of the old neighborliness and concern for social welfare have lasted. . . . . Before us lies the future, full of questions for a country still young among nations. Whither lies our destiny? To maintain a vast and complicated edifice of credit and capital may well require the entire thought and life of the nation. . . . . Yet forces latent or unseen may quicken the nation to new life and direct her mighty energy to some spiritual achievement which will shine down the ages.

In the last analysis, such a result will rest on each individual, to the last man, as individuals play their part together. So we community workers, as we help to bring the opportunities for constructive thought and action to our local groups and build them into city forces, have an important part to play.

Our stumbling blocks? The lure of the activities program, the lure of buildings, the failure of the board of directors to grasp the vision of the program, with the result that a mechanism of schedules will take the place of interpretation and creative contributions. Workers who are efficient local persons will be chosen rather than those who are all that but have the extra capacity for influencing the thought and action of a larger community.

It is not a great asset just to be one more agency carrying on the usual neighborhood work and going no farther. I have known those who have been engaged in club and classwork for years and yet who knew no more about boys and girls really than as though they had not come in contact with them.

Not so very long ago a worker with small children asked me what I thought of some of the newer theories of child training. She said she had been told that tiny tots should play with large toys, large balls, for example. She said she could not entirely accept this because, if she were again a toddler and were creeping about and kicking, she thought her large muscles would be exercised enough. Well, right or wrong, she was thinking and observing, doing what a settlement worker is supposed to do.

The Olympic games are to be in California in 1932. In a certain American city another settlement worker has discovered that no careful scientific study exists as to the physical effects upon women of participation in the intensive competition of track events. She is not against women entering but she does want knowledge, so she has set in motion an effort to start medical research in this line. She is a true settlement person.

Out of our drama, music, adult education, what can we say of them as building up happiness and efficiency?

Further, when 100 per cent of our time, or anything approximating 100 per cent of time, is spent within our houses, that time will mark the end of the settlement. In teaching, taking five-fifths for total time, it is often maintained that only one-fifth should be devoted to the activities of the house itself and one-fifth to the local community, while three-fifths should be given to the city and state. The justification of this division of time is that no local unit can save itself. Anything done for the school system of a city means the bettering of the neighborhood schools and is the only way that they can be permanently improved. When health units are established by a board of health throughout the city, one's own district benefits.

In conclusion, are there any earmarks by which a local work can judge of itself? I think there are a few. First, does the board of directors understand the motives of true neighborhood work? Is the board of directors so constituted as to represent the many-sided interests of the community? Are different religions represented? Are the well-to-do and the less well-to-do represented? Are there racial representatives on the board? Are there a lawyer, a doctor, a business man, and others?

What are the board meetings concerned with? Finance continually or public questions that send the members away with the sense of the depth of the movement and an obligation to become constructive actors in a social program? Do the meetings, moreover, give to those present the appreciation of the delight of human association and an inner knowledge of local opinion?

What type of staff worker or resident is chosen? Good program makers or organizers, just that? A neighborhood work requires more than good organization.

How is the effectiveness of the work gauged? By membership alone or by what the membership does for itself? Are the workers gradually asked to serve the community by cooperating groups? What positive contributions has the settlement made in a five-year period to local knowledge? To public efficiency? Do the workers know the community thoroughly? Does the local neighborhood give evidence of accepting the leadership of the house or of building it into a position of leadership? The city, what is its relation to the house?

In a certain state about a year ago a public question of great importance arose. It was necessary to reach the governor, so a prominent citizen sent to a well known politician to ask his advice. The politician told him that if one of two people, or better both, would support the proposition before the governor he would probably listen. One of the two was a local judge and the other a settlement worker. Apparently that worker had won a certain kind of confidence.

Again, in another city, the third party on an arbitration board, chosen by the labor representative and the capitalist, was a settlement worker. The point, I think, is obvious.

In summary, the neighborhood is the center of our effort. From it spring forces which should swing us into wide, universal contacts, and its needs should challenge every social group until they are met.

THE NEGRO IN COMMUNITY LIFE

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THE Negro in American community life is considered "in" the community but not "of" it. Leaders in social thought, whether political, economic, health, recreational, or educational, usually overlook Negro needs or definitely refrain from giving due consideration to them, seeking not to run counter thereby to white public opinion.

The Negro in his own little community has representatives touching the white world in many ways who bring back to the Negro group new ideas for assimilation; and they transmit the Negro's yearnings to the white people through occasional magazine articles, radio talks, and addresses before churches and other assemblies of white people. They go as messengers of good will from the colored people in an effort to improve interracial relationships. Some of these race representatives strike a defiant note and assert racial equality and bolster up racial consciousness within the Negro community.

As a basis for discussion, I present some social conditions among Negroes in five typical American cities located in different sections of the country.

Grand Rapids, Michigan.—Here we have a total Negro population of 2,400, or 1.4 per cent of a total population of 169,000. There is no slum district. Some of the poorest houses in the city are used as dwellings by colored tenants. However, the bad housing conditions usually found for Negroes in American cities are not duplicated there. There is no "black belt." Sometimes the same house is shared by colored and white families.

Grand Rapids—"the furniture capital of America"—lists 138 plants employing 25 or more men each. Statements from 74 of these plants employing 15,227 men show only 63 Negroes employed, one in each 241 employees, although roughly one in each 70 of the general population is Negro. Sixty of these firms, or three-fourths, employ no Negroes whatever. Of the 63 Negroes employed there are 21 janitors, 20 laborers, 3 porters, 5 molders, 2 machine molders, and one each as a molder's helper, furnace tender, stockroom checker, lathe operator, fireman, and cabinet maker.

Thus, it would seem that Negroes are discriminated against in the matter of employment in the factories of Grand Rapids. One notable exception is the shops of the Pere Marquette Railroad, where there are 150 colored out of 1,050 employed both as skilled and unskilled labor and on machines. The superintendent stated, "We have found them as satisfactory as the white help"—this being due to the open shop policy of the railroad company. Among the exceptional positions held by Negroes in Grand Rapids were found an electrical engineer in the Pere Marquette power house, an electric acetylene-gas welder in the shops and one at the Consumers' Power Company, one foreman in a printing shop with an all white force under him, one woman manager of a downtown beauty parlor, and a beauty culturist in a downtown parlor.

The interracial character of organized groups in recreation in public parks and playgrounds indicates the attitude of the community toward the use of public recreational facilities by the colored population.

Of 3,686 arrests in 1927, 282, or 7.6 per cent, were Negroes. In 1926, the Negroes furnished 242 of the 2,904 arrests recorded, or 8.3 per cent. Colored offenders were arrested mainly for minor crimes such as gambling. Of the Negroes arrested 19.5 per cent were held for gambling, while only 2.7 per cent of the total arrests in the city were for gambling.

Social agencies make no distinction in the handling of colored cases, with the exception of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association. The Young

Women's Christian Association officials claim that the use of the swimming pool is the snag there, and that the southern women members on the board are responsible for the attitude of the Young Women's Christian Association toward colored membership. The most discussed interracial question in Grand Rapids is the attitude of these two organizations toward the Negro. The industrial branch of the Young Men's Christian Association at the Pere Marquette Railroad makes no discrimination against the Negro employees, who freely use the building, its reading room, its spacious porch, and its dining hall. There has been no racial friction, and no complaint has been made of the loss of white members because of the presence of Negroes.

Albany, New York.—Albany has approximately 2,000 Negroes in an estimated total population of 119,500. The 1920 census gave the Negro population as 1.1 per cent of the whole. The Negroes are widely scattered over the city and distributed through seventeen of the nineteen wards. Of this population 54 per cent live in the 7th and 12th wards. In Ward 12, where the largest number of Negroes are living, only 11 houses were added during the ten years between 1910 and 1920. It represents the smallest building development of any of the city's wards, despite the fact that there is no land crowding and the area is not threatened by manufacturing encroachments.

Along the Hudson River lies another area occupied by a large number of Negroes. It is a zone of transition that slowly is becoming industrialized. Here many of the frame houses are untenantable. Brick walls are cracked and in need of painting; most rooms need artificial light during the day. Toilets connect with the kitchen (often with no door between). Halls, yards, and toilets are shared by several families, and the whole area is flanked on the north by a "closed redlight district," which is under the constant surveillance of the police department.

An analysis of 255 residences occupied by Negro families showed that for the 215 of them that were rented, 8.2 per cent had no light other than oil lamps; 62.7 per cent had no bathrooms; and 16.8 per cent had outside toilet facilities. Seventeen toilets were used by two or more families each—three of them being used by five families each. Fifty-five rooms used for sleeping purposes in 44 homes were reported as having no outside windows. Fifty-five per cent of all renters paid a monthly rental in excess of twenty dollars.

The Negro, while forming slightly more than 1 per cent of the total population, contributed for the years 1925–27, inclusive, the following percentages of total births and deaths: 1925, deaths 2.4 per cent and births 1.1 per cent; 1926, deaths 2.3 per cent and births 1.6 per cent; 1927, deaths 3.1 per cent and births 1.0 per cent.

The infant mortality rate is high. In 1927 there were 27 births, but 9, or one-third of the number, died before reaching one year of age. Though the figures are too small to permit the calculation of the rate of infant mortality, it may be noted that at such a pace Negro babies died during the year five times as rapidly as did white babies.

Eighty-seven out of every 100 Negro males, ten years of age and over, in Albany are primarily concerned with earning a living. More than half of this number are engaged in personal and domestic service. The state and municipal offices give employment to 3 auditors, 1 assistant engineer, 5 clerks, 1 stenographer, 4 messengers, and 55 porters. Occupational data secured for 203 male workers showed that 75 per cent of them earned less than $30 per week and 88 per cent less than $35 weekly.

Out of every 100 Negro females ten years of age and over in Albany, 37 are gainfully employed, but 87 out of every 100 Negro working women are domestic servants. Twenty-one out of every 100 married Negro women contribute to the earning of the home, a proportion which is twice greater among the Negro population than among the whites. While the larger proportion of women worked away from home, 17 per cent of the total number working earned an additional income through keeping lodgers and by hairdressing. The median weekly wage of the Negro working woman was $12.20.

A canvass of the larger industries in Albany employing more than 25,000 workers showed that only 124 Negroes were employed. These were used almost entirely in the unskilled occupations. As the Albany Negro worker is distributed very largely in the unorganized occupations, his membership in the various bodies of organized labor is negligible.

An analysis of the police records for 1927 showed that 342 Negroes were arrested during that year. Of these arrests, 34 per cent were for intoxication. There were 7 arrests of juveniles under eighteen years of age during the year, 4 of which were adjourned. The lack of any facilities for the care of delinquent Negro children is partly responsible for the number of adjournments. Social workers regret that there is no place to send either the delinquent or orphaned Negro child.

Aside from the twenty-four parks, four of which have playground equipment, there are non-commercial recreational facilities for the group. Institutional facilities such as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association are restricted to whites, if not closed to Negroes. The Young Men's Christian Association has had no more than 5 Negro boys as members since 1920 and at the time of the survey included 2 Negro boys as members, while the Young Women's Christian Association had no Negro members.

In November, 1928, 261 Negro children were enrolled in the public schools of Albany: high school, 11; junior high school, 24; part-time school, 7; elementary schools, 219. In the more specialized branches of the school system such as the Boys' Vocational School, there are no Negro pupils. It may be noted, also, that the Albany High School has had 3 Negro graduates since 1924. There are no Negro teachers in the system. None of the private or semi-private schools has a Negro student. The Albany Law School has had no Negro graduates since 1916. The National Training School for Certified Nurses has had three Negro graduates since 1905, the last one graduating in 1921. The Albany Medical College has no Negro students. Meanwhile, there are no Negroes in Albany engaged in the practice of medicine, dentistry, or law.

Agencies for human welfare have presented a most varied approach to Negro ills. While some agencies have handled Negro cases, others have done no work in the Negro's behalf. The Boy Scouts have been particularly active among the younger Negro group, with a troop of 21 members and 4 members in other groups, but have found difficulty in securing volunteer leadership. The Girl Scouts have a troop of 8 colored girls, which is maintained more through the activity of a Negro woman who serves as volunteer leader, than through the active interests of the organization. The Fresh Air Guild provides country outings for white children, the Albany Orphan Asylum has no rules against the admission of Negro orphans, according to the president of its Board, but has no Negro charges.

There are thirteen church institutions for the Negro population despite the fact that approximately 50 per cent of the older residents attend white churches of the city. Seven of the aforementioned institutions have been organized since 1920.

Tulsa, Oklahoma.—Although the Negro population is distributed in four different sections of the city owing to the Negroes' living in the servants' quarters in the rear of the homes of the upper middle class of white people, 95 per cent of the Negroes live in the solid Black Belt, which is completely separated from the white community by the railway tracks.

In 1921, the Tulsa riot occurred, when practically the whole Negro section was wiped out by a fire which was the result of the mob's torch. At that time 95 per cent of the Negro residents in the Black Belt lived in poorly constructed frame houses without conveniences and on streets which were unpaved and on which the drainage was all surface. The old frame houses have been replaced by substantial brick buildings, the Negroes being almost entirely responsible for the business activities that were inaugurated to make this reconstruction possible, the Red Cross having furnished only temporary shelter during the rehabilitation period.

In the Negro district there are three Negro justices of the peace, who hold regular court in their precincts with power to dispose of misdemeanors and engage in preliminary hearing of felonies. The various city elections in the Negro section are supervised by Negroes. Except for those Negroes who live on three of the main thoroughfares, there are no lights furnished by the city for the benefit of Negro dwellers. At night the colored community is literally in darkness. There are only six dim lights on Greenwood Street from Easton to Pine, a distance of thirty city blocks. On the cross streets there are no lights at all. This section has six Negro policemen, and although the crime rate is higher than it should be, it has not changed in five years.

Of 500 homes studied in four different sections of the city, 332 were occupied by tenants and 168 by owners; 327 had surface toilets, 282 had no sewage connection of any kind and no drinking water inside of the house, surface wells in backyards being the only source of water supply. Drinking water had to be purchased from neighbors, who sometimes lived two or three blocks away. In the poorer sections of the city, this record would have reached 100 per cent as there is no such thing as a sewer. In some of the colored sections the garbage is moved once a month, sometimes not at all. Scavenger service is only furnished to those who pay for it.

There are thirteen playgrounds for the white population, comprising 1,000 acres with equipment valued at $75,000, and for which there is an annual appropriation for operating expenses of $100,000. For the Negro, who represents 11 per cent of the total population, there are 2 acres of ground with thirteen benches and four swings.

The hospital facilities for Negroes in Tulsa are limited to a one story frame building with a fifteen-bed capacity. There are no private wards and the nursing staff consists of three trained nurses. Ninety per cent of the patients cared for are charity patients.

There are two public schools and one private school devoted to the training of Negro youth. The total Negro school population as estimated by the Board of Education is 3,334; the Negro school enrolment is 2,400.

Worcester, Massachusetts.—Of 30,000 employed in 98 plants in Worcester, 40 are Negroes. There is one Negro to each 143 in population and one Negro employed in these plants to each 767 persons. Instead of 40 there should be at least 214.

Two unions reported that Negroes were members. Journeymen Barbers had 2; the Worcester Musicians' Association had 3.

The ratio of births to deaths was as follows: general, 1.69; Negro, 1.03.

Infant mortality ratio showed: white, 70; Negro, 162.

Heart disease and tuberculosis are the chief causes of Negro deaths.

The Chief of Police says only five colored families in the city are giving trouble. Those who drink are the worst offenders. There were 618 Negro arrests in 1924–28—40 per cent for drunkenness, 16 per cent for being "present at game"; 364 individuals were arrested 618 times; 19, 5 times or more; 30, 4 times or more.

Illiteracy is lower among Negroes than among the entire population. It is above that of native born whites.

Only one Negro organization is in the Community Chest, the Home for Aged Colored People. The Worcester Boys' Club does not discriminate. Of 4,600 boys, 67 are colored. In five years, the District Nursing Society had 207 Negro cases. The Young Women's Christian Association admits colored girls to membership. The Young Men's Christian Association has only 4 colored boys.

Many of the houses of Negroes are in poor condition. Rents are low, comparatively.

Denver, Colorado.—Data secured cover 215 households comprising 874 persons. The population of Denver in 1920 was: total 256,491; Negro, 6,075. The Chamber of Commerce estimate for 1929 is, total, 310,000; Negro, 7,000. The percentage of Negroes has fluctuated between 2.37 and 2.93 from 1880 to 1920. Fifty-four per cent of the total Negro population of Colorado live in Denver.

The average size of families (including lodgers) is 4.1 and the average size of dwellings is 5.3 rooms. In rented dwellings the population was more than one per room. In 34 per cent of the homes there were lodgers. Rents are comparatively high and housing conditions are improving, with houses taken over by Negroes at a lower rental than when occupied by whites. Eight hundred eleven Negroes own 857 parcels of property, with an estimated value of $3,731,000. Approximately 40 per cent of the holdings covered by the study were owned by occupants and 44 per cent of these were unencumbered.

Of 214 industries, 31 had 314 Negro employees distributed as follows: railroad (exclusive of porters), 71; cement manufacture, 26; iron and steel manufacturing and foundry, 37; stock yards, 31; miscellaneous employment, 147. In 154 plants Negro labor had never been employed; 21 plants had employed Negroes, but had none at the time of the survey; 8 plants expressed dissatisfaction with Negro labor.

Of 929 male workers, 42 per cent were laborers and 19.9 per cent porters. Eighty per cent of the 428 female workers were domestics. Negroes are well represented in the public service class. Sixty employed by the city and county of Denver drew an aggregate salary of $5,380 for March, 1929. Monthly salaries range from $40 for attendants to $200 for a quarantine inspector. Thirty-five Negroes employed in the state departments include a deputy insurance commissioner, an assistant in the bacteriology division of the State Health Department, custodian of the state office building, and several clerks. There are 80 United States government employees, chiefly in the post office. Probably the most important single occupation for Negro males is that of Pullman porter. There are 209 porters and employees in the Denver district. Negroes have sustained losses to whites and orientals in employment in hotels and clubs, although three of the most prominent of the latter retain Negro servitors. The wages of 217 Negro male workers in Denver, 138 of whom were heads of families, show a weekly average of $21.40.

In 1920 the federal census reported that 34 per cent of married Negro women were gainfully employed, this percentage being three times as great as that for foreign born white women. In Denver in a total of 202 families in which there were both man and wife, 125 wives were working, more than half of them away from home. Those working at home were engaged chiefly in keeping lodgers, hairdressing, and laundering.

Approximately 325 Negroes in Denver are trade unionists, 125 belonging to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers have more than a hundred new members, and several Negro officers. The usual discrimination is apparent in those trades in which the number of Negroes is not sufficient to be competitive.

In 1928 for every ten births among Negroes there were sixteen deaths, in 1927 nineteen deaths, in 1926 seventeen deaths, in 1925 twelve deaths, in 1924 twenty-two deaths.

Of 1,786 arrests of Negroes listed in 1928, 1,357 were guilty of law violations. Though only one out of every 46 persons in Denver is a Negro, one out of every 12 persons arrested in 1928 was a Negro. Arrests of white offenders increased 99.4 per cent from 1916 to 1928—Negroes 146.4 per cent. It is the opinion of the juvenile court and its workers that Negro children contribute a relatively small percentage of the juvenile court cases. There are two Negro patrolmen and Negro detectives on the police force.

In 1920 there were 689 Negroes between the ages of seven and twenty attending school in Denver, representing 65.3 per cent of all Negroes within the age group. The percentage of illiteracy of the Negro population ten years and over was 4.1—half as great as that of the foreign born white, and four times as great as that of the native white population. In 1928 there were 1,043 Negro pupils in the entire public school system. There are no Negro teachers, though there have been several Negro graduates of the State Teachers College and there are fifteen colored students there now, eight of whom are from Denver. Denver University has 18 Negro students.

There has been a rapid increase both in number and variety of Negro business establishments in recent years. Of the 74 covered in the survey, 40 were started between 1920 and 1929. One large fraternal insurance company has its home office in Denver. Negroes to the number of 159 are employed by 27 Negro concerns using help outside the family of the proprietor. Of these persons 116 receive an aggregate weekly wage of $1,823.73.

During 1928, through the Community Chest, the sum of $17,571.93 was awarded to Negro organizations. The colored Young Men's Christian Association efficiently managed with 550 members, carries out a varied program. The colored Young Women's Christian Association, with a staff of six and a membership of 235, is doing constructive work. The Negro Women's Club House Association sponsors a day nursery and a well kept dormitory for girls and women.

There are 17 Negro churches in Denver, with memberships ranging from 44 to 1,020, which in 1928 collected $64,456. None of them has a definite social program. All are in debt. There is one church for every 412 Negroes.

LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES FOR MEXICAN PEOPLE: OUT OF THE EXPERIENCE OF A MEXICAN

Ernest Galarza, University of Sacramento

THE chief interest in the Mexican immigrant in the United States at the present moment centers around the question of whether Mexico shall be placed on the quota basis. The delegates to this Conference have already heard and probably will continue to hear the arguments marshaled by the opposing forces, and in these arguments they will have noted the usual alignment of racial purists versus economic expansionists. The restrictionists have mustered the familiar artillery of racial dilution and the color flood, while those who seek to keep the gates open, as they have been for the last eighteen years, are once more pressing the equally old argument that the very economic structure of the United States rests on the brawn and sweat of the immigrant.

Whatever may be the relative merits of the contending theses, one effect of the controversy has been to obscure the very fundamental proposition that something must be done in the way of social and economic amelioration for those Mexicans who have already settled in the United States and whose problem is that of finding adjustment. Thus far in the discussion the Mexicans who have settled more or less permanently here have been taken into account negatively; that is, restrictionists have found ample material for controversial argument in the group behavior of these people in their new environment. It is the central idea of this paper that the needs and interests of the Mexican immigrant already settled in the United States must be consistently taken into account; my object is to present the case of the Mexican who is with us.

For the moment let it be accepted as true that everyone has presented his side of the case except the Mexican worker himself. Later on we shall consider the reasons for this, whether it is desirable to make this considerable body of human beings articulate, and, if so, one or two suggestions as to the steps necessary to bring this about.

I speak to you today as one of these immigrants. I have only a simple and merely suggestive statement based on a knowledge of the community life of these people and of what goes on in their minds concerning the economic aspects of "the Mexican problem."

First, as to unemployment. The Mexican is the first to suffer from depression in industrial and agricultural enterprises. He does not watch the market returns because he could not read them if he would; but he has a keen ear and a ready understanding of the neighborhood rumors that speak of stricken crops or prospective lay-offs. Something that borders on desperation grips many of them and the old familiar phrase, packed with a penetrating helplessness, goes the rounds: "Va a estar duro el invierno"—"It is going to be a hard winter." I flatly disagree with those who maintain that there is enough work for these people but that they refuse to work, preferring to live on charity. On the contrary, it is widely felt by the Mexicans that there are more men than there are jobs. The women storm the canneries of the Sacramento Valley by the hundreds in search of the jobs that are counted by the dozen. By and large, it may be true that the sum total of available work tallies neatly with the number of Mexicans looking for it. Thus far, however, the worker and the work are not to be found in the same locality. Again, the precariousness of the job in the face of so much competition has brought home to the Mexican time and again his absolute weakness as a bargainer for employment. He therefore takes what he can get and is devoutly thankful for that.

He has also something to say as to the wage scale. If you wish to touch the lowest reaches of individual bargaining in the labor market, go to the Mexican and learn his ways. It is often said that he is satisfied with enough to buy a pound of beans, rent a hutch, buy a quilt, and have a little left over for bootleg goods. The Mexican is not innately married to an animal standard of living. What happens is that he recognizes his absolute inability to force his wage upward and by dint of necessity he shuffles along with a standard of living which the American worker regards with contempt and alarm. It is to be noted that the Mexican resents the undercutting competition of other workers, especially the Filipinos, for whom he has the contemptuous nickname of "chango"—monkey. Unfortunately, when a Mexican family contrives to increase its income and to extend its range of necessities and comforts, invariably it begins with the wrong things. Radios, roadsters, and Chesterfields, and jewelry leave a trail of debt long after they have been pawned, worn out, or sold for a fraction of the cost to tide over a hard season. Before so many blanket charges are made against the Mexican on the score of his standard of living, something should be known of the high-pressure salesmanship to which he is practically always a victim.

The distribution of the labor supply is felt by the Mexican to be inadequate. At present he has to rely mainly on hearsay or on the information of unscrupulous contractors who overcharge him for transportation. Entire families move up and down the valleys of California in the orchard and hop field districts only to suffer repeated disillusionment. In one case several dozen families camped on the edge of a hop field for two months waiting for the picking to begin. Less than half of them were finally employed. Furthermore, these migrations are undertaken entirely at the cost of the Mexican. The lowly and disreputable Ford has been extolled now and then as the solution of the seasonal labor problem, since this type of conveyance has been almost universally adopted by the Mexican. But the Mexican well knows by this time that the Ford is not a perennial flower; and he also knows that far too much of his meager income is left in the tills of gasoline stations and tire shops in his long treks along the Pacific Coast.

To these three aspects of the question—unemployment, wage scales, and seasonal migration in search of work—should be added two others about which the Mexican is concerned. They are the education of his children and the persistence of race prejudice.

The public schools have a distinct effect on the second generation of the immigrant group. The children begin to feel contempt for field labor and disdain for the sweat and grime which permeate the life of their parents. Along with this goes a cooling of the loyalty to the home country. Pride of birth is forgotten and in its place creeps in a desire to imitate their playfellows in what appeals to them as distinctly American. What is worse, they forget the mother-tongue. And while this is going on they fail to find a secure place in the social scheme of their adopted country. Color counts heavily against them. As Mexicans, they are denationalized and they find themselves in a difficult borderland through which it seems that all second generation immigrants must pass. Incidentally, I wish to state that as far as my own experience extends, the Mexican parent is uniformly grateful for the educational opportunities offered to his children in this country.

Finally, the Mexican immigrant still feels the burden of old prejudices. Only when there are threats to limit immigration from Mexico is it that a few in America sing the praises of the peon, stating that he loves his family, has a passion for red flowers and soft music, drinks discreetly, and obeys implicitly. At other times the sentiments which seem to be deeply rooted in the American mind are that he is unclean, improvident, indolent, and innately dull. Add to this the suspicion that he constitutes a peril to the American worker's wage scale and you have a situation with which no average Mexican can cope.

I have tried to suggest some of the things which the Mexican would say if he were articulate. If his native reticence could be pierced, I believe these are his opinions on unemployment, wage scales, standard of living, seasonal migrations, and racial prejudices. There remains the question of whether it is worth while consulting him, and how his needs and interests can be brought to the attention of some agency which will give voice to them.

My suggestions are that, first, some order should be brought out of the chaos of the seasonal labor supply, preferably by state initiative. As long as the present haphazard arrangement continues, surplus of laborers will be needed to compensate for the lack of correlation between the supply and the demand for farm workers. Control by private organizations of this phase of the question is subject to too many abuses to be recommended.

Second, a bilateral accord with the Mexican government should be sought to iron out the immigration question. Attempts at cooperation between the labor organizations in Mexico and the United States, as advocated by Paul Scharrenberg, of California, and Luis Morones, of Mexico, have brought no results. If both governments could be edged into a compromising mood, an immediate advantage would no doubt follow.

Third, whenever feasible social service agencies working with Mexican groups should use workers of Mexican extraction to make the firsthand contacts.

Fourth, there should be more real understanding of the adjustment which the Mexican is making to his American environment. For example, often I have seen statistics setting forth the high birth rate of the Mexican as an indication of the dilution of the American stock. Never yet have I seen in juxtaposition a statement of the death rate. How scientific can such analyses be when they ignore such vital information? Something more should be known also about how the Mexican lives and why before the stigma of a low standard of living is fastened on him.

Last, I would ask for recognition of the Mexican's contribution to the agricultural and industrial expansion of western United States. Here I am treading on holy ground where many have worshiped but few have spoken. It is amusing to read the praises of those opposed to the restriction of immigration. From Denver to Los Angeles and from the Imperial Valley to Portland, it is said, an empire has been created largely by the brawn of the humble Mexican, who laid the rails and topped the beets and poured the cubic miles of cement. But this acknowledgment is misleading—and tardy. For some obscure reason these builders of colossal fortunes have done their jobs and gone their ways still clothed in rags. If this wealth beyond counting is the result of enterprise, of foresight, and of vision, let it so be said; and let it be added that the men who have sweated into the mortar and driven their existence, inch by inch, into railroad ties were but the generous raw material of abundant Nature, and as such have received no more than their due. If it is true that the Mexican has brought to you arms that have fastened a civilization on the Pacific slope, then give him his due. If you give him his earned wage and he proves improvident, teach him otherwise; if he is tuberculous, cure him; if he falls into indigence, raise him. He has built you an empire!

What I ask, of course, at present is nothing but economic romanticism. But I ask it, speaking for those who cannot speak for themselves. And I conclude by repeating that unless the Mexican immigrant in the United States is made articulate, unless his economic contribution to the development of western United States is recognized and rewarded, unless his needs and interests are considered from his own point of view, any attempt to solve the problem will lack the most vital of all values, the human value.

COORDINATION OF EFFORT IN MENTAL HYGIENE

* * *

IN THE CLINIC

E. Van Norman Emery, M.B., Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Los Angeles and Pasadena

MENTAL hygiene has attracted representatives from many diverse fields of thought since its earliest inception. In fact, this has been one of the most wholesome and characteristic features of its development. Not only has the broad value of mental hygiene been thus recognized, but also the fact that mental hygiene has needed to draw unto itself facts and skills from many fields in order to meet effectively its many and diverse problems. It is therefore not at all surprising that in the early mental hygiene clinics we found representatives of several different specialized fields functioning together as a team, pooling their knowledge and efforts so as to meet more adequately the task they had set for themselves. Out of these early experiences has gradually grown a more or less standard pattern for mental hygiene clinics. At the present time we find four points of view represented in nearly all well organized mental hygiene clinics: the point of view of general medicine or the pediatrician; the point of view of the social worker; the point of view of the clinical psychologist; and the point of view of the psychiatrist.

The advantages of this variety of points of view in a clinic team are apparent, especially when it is realized that such clinics are operating in a field of endeavor which is relatively young; a field in which we have but few firmly established landmarks; a field in which we need to be constantly taking our bearings.

The pooling of a variety of knowledges, experiences, and techniques tremendously increases the resources of the team. In fact, the routine work of a mental hygiene clinic requires that it have an extraordinary ability to draw upon knowledge from a wide variety of sources, and requires the use of a variety of separate and highly specialized techniques. The presence on a clinic staff of these four points of view materially helps to meet these needs. However, there are additional advantages. For a clinic to keep itself advised of progress being made in related fields is a stupendous task. A clinic must be advised not only as to advances in theory and knowledge but it must also be advised as to changes in community resources in the fields of medical care, educational resources, group and case work resources in the social work field, and resources in the psychiatric field. To meet this responsibility in any large community requires the vigilance and effort of the entire clinic staff, and makes vividly apparent the value of pooling knowledge.

Those who have worked intimately in a mental hygiene clinic realize that there are other values to team functioning besides the pooling of knowledge and techniques. A variety of highly specialized personnel working together constitutes a peculiarly interesting social and psychological experiment in cooperation. One of its fascinations consists in the fact that the team finds itself confronted with many problems within its own body that are similar to the problems it is endeavoring to solve for its clients. After all is said and done, one of the major endeavors of a mental hygiene clinic is to assist individuals to be comfortable within themselves and to be comfortable in their relationships to those by whom they are surrounded. Each member of a clinic team is confronted with this problem in a personal way as he endeavors to cooperate with other members of the team in the clinic situation. Unless each member is able to adjust himself satisfactorily to the other personalities of the team, unless by so doing he is able to contribute the whole of his potentialities to the common work of the team, both the individual and the team suffer serious loss.

Coordination is a peculiarly significant attribute of an efficient mental hygiene clinic. The *Century Dictionary* defines coordination as arranging in the same order, rank, and degree. This implies that if coordination is to be an attribute of a clinic team, no undue emphasis shall be placed on any one point of view, nor shall there be undue neglect of another point of view. But there is also need for coordination of effort as well as coordination of emphasis. In other words, not only should adequate consideration be given to each point of view by the team, but each individual member should feel responsible for the maintenance of that degree of effort which will guarantee the contribution of his full quota to the pooled resources of the team. But coordination implies something further. It implies the bringing about of a certain orderliness, a systematization, an interrelation with fusion, in order to effect a unification of point of view and purpose. Without such unification there will exist a form of dissociation within the team which is disastrous not only to the ideal of coordination but to the client as well. Such unification is essential to case work planning and strategy.

In order for true coordination to exist within a team, it is imperative that each member be willing to give his maximum effort at all times, while, paradoxically, at the same time he must be willing to step aside with good grace when the problem at hand requires an emphasis which he is unable to give.

If this ideal of coordination is to be achieved it requires that each member of the team shall have considerable ability to acquire the point of view of the others. It is not enough that he be able to contribute, but he must be able to accept ideas from others. Much of the skill of the social worker and the psychiatrist is dependent upon their ability to acquire the point of view of their clients or patients. Not infrequently team members who have this ability in their relationship with their clients will fail entirely to acquire the point of view of another in the teamwork relationship. There is a vast difference between the worker-client relationship and the relationships within the team. In the former the worker is dominant, while in the latter the relationship is in a sense competitive. In the former the worker's ego is apt to expand and thrive, while in the latter it may get bruised. A tender ego in a competitive situation is almost sure to block the worker in his ability to acquire the other worker's point of view. He is almost sure to feel threatened and almost automatically he will endeavor to maintain and protect his own point of view.

All members of a team must face this problem and work through it. If they are able to merge themselves into the team as a whole, to lose themselves in the case work problem in hand, to forget the challenge to their egos in order to accept the challenge of the job, they will have gone a long way toward adjusting themselves to the teamwork situation. Some individuals find it impossible of achievement, while others appear to fit into this scheme of things too readily.

A great danger confronting certain individuals is the satisfaction and comfort that can be secured from having other members of the team upon whom they can depend. Sometimes, unwittingly, a dependency develops which is good neither for the individual nor for the team. When the team authority becomes an infallible deity, and every decision has to be referred back to the group, it is time to take stock. It is easy to understand how such a dependency can develop, because most individuals have more or less a tendency to drop into it. The team predisposes to this, however.

If a team is to succeed in securing that degree of self-obliteration so necessary for team coordination and at the same time is to protect the individual from the disaster of overdependency, the team must guarantee to each member a wholesome measure of satisfaction arising from some activity that is more or less apart from the general teamwork. There are many forms of satisfaction available—writing, lecturing, speeches, committee work, community contact and organization, special research projects. Although such activities are related to the work of a clinic, they provide opportunities for the expression of initiative, and bring that satisfaction which is based upon the worker's own individual effort and is so imperative. No one can continue to progress if his identity is too completely fused in the team. Such a meeting of this problem may result in increasing the resources of the team and at the same time in bringing the needs and abilities of the clinic personnel more fully to bear upon needs of the community.

If a clinic team is approximating an optimum in its coordination, a phenomenon comes into operation that constitutes one of the greatest advantages of teamwork. Where the individual members of a team are free in their relationships to each other, one finds a definite "stepping up of the potential" in the team thinking. For example, if Individual B is free to accept an idea from Individual A, Individual B may react to this idea, broaden its meaning, and add something to it. If Individual C is present and free to add his contribution, after the first exchange, Individual A has his own idea plus something. He can now not only build upon his original idea but can incorporate and build upon the additions of B and C. In this way the potentialities of all have been increased. In the course of an hour's discussion, interaction of this sort may be observed again and again. Under such circumstances, the thinking of the group achieves an end result that is something over and above the sum total of the potentialities of the individuals involved. This phenomenon constitutes a tremendous asset to the team's work.

Unfortunately, in many situations this asset is lost to the team because some members are not free to participate on account of personality difficulties in the team makeup which block them. Such blockings can only be understood in terms of the individual's own mental mechanisms, but in some cases one or two members with an irrepressible desire to dominate may crush into apparent submission other relatively well adjusted members. This tends to bring about a fixation of the group's development at a level that is far below its potentialities, in fact, sometimes at the level of the weakest member of the group. Then one feels an urge to invent a new series of labels to apply to these pathological manifestations in the field of teamwork and cooperation.

With some individuals, such blockings not only affect their reaction in the teamwork thinking situation but at times will cause the development of what might be called a "team situation stubbornness," so that they creep within their shells, as it were, refusing to give to the team any newly discovered information, or even attempting childishly to punish the team by doing poor work, even in the day's routine. Somebody has said that "human nature is very prevalent," so there is a reasonable chance that mental hygiene clinics may fall heir to their share of "team situation stubbornness."

To what extent the vocations of psychiatry, psychology, and social work tend to attract people who have difficulties in adjustment has as yet not been determined. We frequently find maladjusted individuals in these fields, and they create very real problems. Complete freedom from personality difficulties is probably an ideal to which no one ever attains, but, if an individual has had major maladjustments, he should have overcome most of them if he is to be an asset to a clinic team and not a liability. In contrast with this, it not infrequently occurs that a person who has overcome major difficulties of his own may prove especially valuable to a mental hygiene clinic.

The subtle manner in which minor maladjustments may cause an individual to lose his objectiveness is peculiarly interesting. From time to time one sees workers who are bent upon saving the world, workers who find satisfaction for their lust for power by minding other people's business, workers who must find something to blame and punish in the client, workers who must make the world a better place in which to live because they themselves have never been able to adjust to the world as it is. There are probably few people who are free from all such prejudices. A well functioning team protects not only the client but the member and the team as a whole from the disastrous effects of such personal idiosyncrasies. In a well coordinated team such prejudices have been seen to disappear gradually—a painless operation both for the member and for the team. Group thinking is probably the best protection available against the member or the group going off on tangents. It does not take many weeks of teamwork to convince the average person of this value. Group thinking is a remarkable corrective and check on possible errors in individual thinking. It need not operate as a taboo.

In contrast with some of the prejudices mentioned, one finds an occasional social worker, psychologist, or psychiatrist for whom teamwork is almost an impossibility because of his assuredness of himself, because of the fixity of his earlier attitudes and points of view, because of his inability to profit by the new experiences of teamwork. One wonders if the psychiatrist is not particularly prone to this difficulty. One wonders whether this is due to his wish for a simple prescription for the social and emotional ills of his patients or due to his wish to be recognized as the direct descendant of the medicine man. Often he takes himself much too seriously. Often his manner would indicate a belief in his own deification and infallibility. Too often all of these wishes and reactions are merely defense reactions to cover his own feelings of inadequacy in the teamwork situation, but they may effectively block his own development and render him valueless to the team.

Not only does participation in the group hold for the individual some of the constructive and destructive possibilities mentioned, but it has an additional value. A few years of work with a mental hygiene group gives an individual a new breadth of knowledge, new viewpoints and perspectives. This result is most striking perhaps in the case of the psychiatrist. His experience in a mental hygiene clinic should make it possible for him to discuss intelligently pediatrics with the pediatrician, psychology with the psychologist, education with the educator, social case work with the social worker. Each member of such a team has acquired added experience in his own field and also a very definite something over and above this. Just what the individual worker has become is a difficult question to settle, but he is certainly something more than what is generally understood by the term social worker, psychologist, or psychiatrist.

In contrast with this wholesome development one sees a trend in some quarters in which an individual attempts to function as a substitute for a mental hygiene clinic, or in which an attempt is made to build a mental hygiene clinic about a single person or a single point of view. Such efforts are at times justified by unusual circumstances, such as lack of adequate funds, the development of a new type of service, or the undertaking of some special piece of research, but too often such enterprises are started to serve as a personal outlet for some prejudiced, poorly trained, or dangerously individualistic psychiatrist, psychologist, or social worker. There is danger when an individual acts as though he had received, by special dispensation, the magic of the medicine man. For the individual to attempt to function in this field independently of a well organized and coordinated team will hold a real hazard. It cannot be considered a safe experiment unless the worker has had a broad experience with the best of teamwork, and even this is not without risk unless some opportunity be provided for occasional contacts with a well organized clinic or group. Otherwise the necessary check and re-evaluations cannot take place.

If coordination of effort is to reach its full development, there will be problems for the team and problems for the individual; there will be responsibilities on the part of the team to the individual as well as responsibilities on the part of the individual to the team. If a mental hygiene clinic is to be considered healthy in this respect, it is essential that there be that quantity and quality of coordination of effort which shall bring to the service of the client and the community the optimum of the clinic's potential resources, while at the same time it is giving to each member of the team that degree of relative freedom and individual satisfaction which will bring contentment.

IN THE COMMUNITY

Almena Dawley, Chief Social Worker, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia

ONE may pertinently ask whether there is anything inherently special or specialized in the mental hygiene field, and one must admit that there is not. Its subject matter is a territory through which every profession must pass in these days of modern psychology. Its techniques lie in the understanding of those universal life experiences of every human being, starved or satisfied though he may be. Its future lies in its recognition of its usefulness as an essential but always an adaptable instrument for scientific research into a field which has its applications in every walk of life.

The mental hygiene clinic of the last few years has its chief value, in my opinion, in the fact that it is a plan of organization with its efforts directed entirely to the field of human relationships. Its justification in these days of numerous agencies lies in its assimilation of the contributions of specialists from various professional fields, each one bringing a background of experience which makes for an experimental and thoughtful approach to the problems of human behavior. For the most part such clinics are still free of excessive community pressure and are able to use the tools of group discussion so that there is something creative in the exchange of experience and body of knowledge focused upon a particular situation. Nothing is new in the field which is being explored by the clinics; little new has been developed in techniques; but there is inestimable worth in the emphasis which has come to be put upon the inherent value of every life experience and on the need for a slow, deliberate, and experimental approach to the evaluation and understanding of those experiences.

If this be true, then what should be the philosophy on which the coordination of effort must proceed in the cooperative job between the mental hygiene clinic and the social agency, mutually interested in the same problematic individual situation? First of all, both agencies must recognize that their cooperation is for more than service on any one case. If this be the sole aim of the joint relationship, there will instantly arise numerous unexpressed questions as to the type of training of the various participants, the ownership of the case, the responsibility for treatment, and many other subjective reservations when one's adequacy or inadequacy in a situation seems to be in question.

Obviously, service is the reason for which an agency approaches the clinic, and, obviously, therefore, it must be the clinic which states its philosophy in terms of a broader experimental approach to the study of human behavior. This cooperation is not only for the better adjustment of an individual situation but it has its greater value in the contribution to our skills and techniques through the pooling of different bodies of knowledge, through free participation in discussion, through utilizing this or that individual for certain parts of the whole, and then for considering what has been gained or lost, what has blocked progress, what has been of new interest in the joint work of the agencies.

In other words, there must be a sound psychological setting in which the cooperative job may develop. There must be a mutual awareness on the part of the clinic and agency of the value that each professional experience and each set of individual attitudes brings to the understanding and coordination of effort. There can be no "either—or" attitude in this relationship, but there must be a recognition of the relative values of each individual and his experiences as he contributes to the whole experiment. This means that at the outset, for true experimentation, each person in the cooperative venture must be able to see himself as a part of one large and objective endeavor to try out new ways of dealing with baffling human situations. Neither group should see itself either in an advisory or an inferior relation to the other, but each must recognize the wholeness of this new, tentative, and essentially learning process of which it is to be a part.

How to get this psychological setting and how to get each person to the point of approaching the job in this way requires many of the things which Dr. Emery has stressed in his paper, since in the cooperative relationship there is almost a duplication of the clinic staff situation except for the interagency attitudes. Among the first requirements for such a setting, it is essenial that each person who is cooperating should feel that, among the group of cases being carried cooperatively, he has a real and a satisfying job. He must feel that he is necessary for his particular contribution as a person with special training, experience, or previous contact with the case, and that he is not being used merely to run errands or to interview a child in an emergency when plans must be made. This is all too often a temptation in any form of case work in which time is limited and numbers are large. But here it is that the cooperative worker who is steering such a relationship may bring back to the original objectives the particular part which any one individual will play. The clinic cannot conceive of its function as studying and making recommendations; the agency cannot think of referring in order to pass over responsibility if there is to be a mutually dynamic and creative relationship. This has often happened in these early years of our clinical organization, but we are passing beyond the point of being further caught in this trap of social and clinical waste. There can be whole-hearted and coordinated effort only as an atmosphere of purpose is created for each participant.

This does not imply that there should be equal division of responsibility on given cases or that several persons must participate on the doing side of any one situation. In one case the referring worker, after thoughtful group discussion, might be the only person to work adequately with the whole situation. In another instance it might be that the psychiatrist through a particular entrée into the case could best have a period of intensive contacts with one or more persons involved. But however the plan is worked out, it should arise from a group understanding, group participation, and group planning, for primarily in its group aspect has this whole experimental approach anything to contribute to the case work field.

How two agencies may have any understanding of each other depends upon their initial acceptance of the potentialities in a cooperative relationship. Do the cooperative worker and the psychiatrist in the clinic accept themselves and their job contribution sufficiently so that they are free to recognize the importance of a mutual understanding of the functions and implications of a relief agency, for example? Do they recognize that the only way to obtain this understanding vicariously is through the cooperative relationship? Do they realize that even the untrained worker in such an agency has a philosophy about relief and a set of attitudes in dealing with a client which are as important for the clinic to understand as why the client happens to be in his particular situation? Until the clinic knows this about the agency's background and philosophy, and until the agency worker recognizes the need for this mutual understanding, there is no way of proceeding on any fruitful ground. Is the clinic aware of the background of experience in a mother's aid organization, with a wealth of material on the emotional factors involved in widowhood and the effect of this on the children? Does the clinic recognize the contribution to be made to its thinking, through knowledge of the present theories and practice of child care organizations, the place of the family in the child's adjustment, the problems in the selection of adequate foster homes and the wealth of excellent materials showing the dovetailing of these two interests through thoughtful and long-time effort? Does the clinic recognize the school as an invaluable cooperative agent with a rich experience in observing groups and individuals, with unlimited possibilities in experimenting with individual and group adjustment?

Sometimes the clinic has not recognized such potentialities and such realities, the reason often lying in the clinic's sense of its own inadequacy. Perhaps it has rested too securely on the fact of its special professional background; often it has found its way so blindly among words and terminology that it is confused and upset by the necessity of making itself clear to another professional or to an unprofessional group. A comment inserted as a casual clause in a record recently revealed the reason why a certain clinic had failed to gain the cooperation of a school and why the focus of the case had been put on the school situation instead of on the tangled net of relationships out of which the child's problem had arisen: "For this school principal is a man hopelessly incapable of understanding psychiatric concepts." By this the worker confessed her inability to understand the principal's concepts or to marshal in mutually acceptable terms the reasonable basis on which this case might proceed.

Often, it is true, there are apparent basic differences regarding the causation of behavior. If discussion of such cases is in terms which are mutually meaningful, however, it will be possible usually to reach agreement on the concept of the purposiveness of behavior and the recognized value of every life experience. The clinic is placed in a more difficult rôle in this relationship, for it has been sought out for more understanding. It must, therefore, avoid any attempt to give out understanding without seeing itself as a part of an integrated experimental whole.

Only as the clinic and the agency are able to identify themselves with the whole is there any sound basis in cooperative work. Such an identification leads to flexibility and adaptability in regard to selection of cases and methods of procedure. The clinic sees where the agency worker most wants exchange of experience and group thinking, worked out on either a service or a consultative basis. The agency, on the other hand, is more likely to recognize the type of situation into which it is strategic for the clinic to enter as a participant, and conversely may face more directly the situations which it must work out by itself. The clinic cooperative service must rest on this ready adaptability to serve as a cooperative experimental agency in those fields of human behavior where case workers can at that time most profit by exchange of experience and group thinking, regardless of the type of symptomatic behavior presented.

A most strategic point at which to carry out this pooling is in a series of staff, or treatment, conferences between the various participants on the case in hand. If "pooling and coordination" means anything, it implies a mutual contribution, an opportunity for joint sharing. Does the staff conference, then, fulfil this concept? Does the mental hygiene clinic, in this situation, approach the conference in the spirit of ownership, making recommendations and arranging for follow-up to see that they are carried out? Does it see this as a teaching relationship only, or does it view the conference as an opportunity for mutual understanding and exchange of experience through group discussion?

Modern pedagogy has made an invaluable contribution in its demonstration of the need of participation as a learning process, for in addition to its indicating the interest of the participant, it also more nearly insures the participant's making his own, the content of the discussion material. Dr. Kilpatrick, of Columbia, writes in an article on "The Management of Discussion,"

> . . . . If we are seeking intellectual grasp and are seeking it for all the members, then we shall wish the fullest possible participation of each and all in the discussions. We must know that the more fully each member can himself think through and appreciate each point as it comes up, the more will he get the point and the better will he organize it with other points to make a consistent and effective whole. The good discussion leader will consistently refrain from telling the group what to think, and he will not allow such in others. Each one educates himself by the thinking he himself does.[1] . . . . To participate is as a rule the shortest road to appropriation.

With some temerity I venture to present briefly the outline of a situation which has many obvious reasons for cooperative effort between a social agency and a mental hygiene clinic. The X family, Catholic, is made up of a man forty years old, his wife five years younger, and ten living children. The man was one of five children, the other four being girls. His father was a heavy drinker and finally after a short commitment to jail for non-support and drinking, deserted when Mr. X was about twenty. Brother and sisters are closely tied to the mother, her daughters still living with her. Mr. X, who was particularly close to his mother, began to drink as a young man and drank heavily until two years ago. He married when he was twenty-two, and Mrs. X only 17, and each continued to live with his own parents. Mrs. X's parents learned of the marriage only when she was several months' pregnant. She evidently felt guilty about this marriage, which she probably contracted as a gesture of defiance against her mother. She had always cared a great deal for babies. Mr. X has supported his family inadequately and not at all for the last two years. At that time he suddenly stopped drinking, having taken a vow that if a very sick child should live he would never touch another drop. He kept his vow but developed a neurotic physical condition, which has prevented him from working. His symptoms were thus put on a level which made him more acceptable to his family. With this illness, he turned for consolation to his mother, who had never accepted his wife.

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[1] Dr. Kilpatrick, "The Management of Discussion," *Inquiry*, III, No. 7 (December, 1927), 67 and 69.

The case worker had known this family for some time, had built up a good contact with Mrs. X, was quite aware of the major mechanisms operating in the situation, and because of them turned to the psychiatrist in the clinic. She realized that it would be difficult for the same person to maintain a close and professional contact with both Mr. and Mrs. X. They would become too aware of each other in this relationship to another person. Also, in view of the man's neurotic physical symptoms it was essential that his symptoms should be accepted as real, and this could be accomplished only by a doctor. After discussion it was decided that the psychiatrist would see the man frequently and regularly, while the agency worker was to continue to work closely with the woman and the oldest child, who had become a serious problem.

In view of the frequency of contact with both clients, the closest kind of cooperation was necessary. A carbon of each interview, therefore, was exchanged as soon as possible so that each person was aware of situations which the other one was dealing with, and how they were being met. When the man told his wife that the doctor had said he should not work for six months, it was important that the case worker know exactly what had been said, and soon after, in conference, what the psychiatrist's plan was for dealing with the man's unemployment so that she might not go contrary to that in dealing with the woman. It was important that the psychiatrist know, in this connection, just how long the agency could go on giving adequate relief, what its experience had been in relief situations of this sort, and how the woman was reacting to the prolonged unemployment and dependency on an agency. At every turn it was important that the psychiatrist should know how the woman was dealing with what the man related of his interviews and how his treatment with the man was fitting in with the worker's approach to the total situation of which the man was only one part. This could be obtained only through free exchange, written and oral, and the participation which culminates in new insight and understanding.

Pooling and coordination of the mental hygiene clinic with the community in its cooperative case work program means, therefore, that there must be joint sharing and mutual education, if there is to be anything dynamic and creative in the relationship. One of the bugaboos which the mental hygiene field has to face is the assumption on the part of many of its supporters that it must contribute to and teach other professional groups in the community. Because we were young in a new field we let ourselves stumble into the pocket of attempting to contribute in a way which is contrary to all of our best understanding of how people learn and accept and use a point of view.

From this experience we have learned a number of things. First, we know that the mental hygiene field cannot be set off as a separate field for a particular type of human problem. Its field is the common ground which all professions need to know, and its subject matter is made up of relativities in human nature from the psychotic to any adequate and self-sustaining person who may want more understanding of himself. Second, there is much to be learned from related and longer established fields, many of which have found sound and interesting ways of dealing with behavior in a variety of situations. And last, we are on the threshold of developing techniques for understanding each other in this community job of coordination. How to accept ourselves so that we are free to recognize the values in others, and how to integrate these two sets of values into a stimulating and progressive plan of participation and joint adventure, is the community program that lies ahead.

TREATMENT AS AFFECTED BY MENTAL HYGIENE PRINCIPLES

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EVOLUTION OF OUR TREATMENT PHILOSOPHY IN CHILD GUIDANCE

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TREATMENT in the field of child guidance is a subject upon which there has been a great deal of thinking but relatively little writing. More definite formulation of present and future objectives, and stages through which we have passed to reach our present ones, seem to be desirable in order to clarify some of the things we are now striving to achieve.

There are certain factors in treatment which are relatively stable and which can be disposed of at the outset of this paper, not because they are less important, but because there is rather unanimous opinion about them. It is only necessary to refer at the outset to the important part which sound physical health plays in the field of behavior and to the fact that the bringing of it to a realization in the individual case will always be an important objective in our therapy.

There can be no doubt that the major objectives in this field concern the understanding of those human relationships that revolve around the growing personality of the child, and the modification of those which seem to be placing barriers in the way of a healthy achievement of maturity. In this field have occurred the most important advances in our therapeutic endeavors.

Dynamic psychiatry has gone through an interesting cycle, beginning with an interest in unraveling the genetic history of adult reactions, which in turn led to a greater focusing on the child to study and prevent these very adult problems; and now we are finding ourselves going back to a greater extent to a more careful consideration of those adult reactions which are so important in shaping the personalities of children. The understanding and modification of these adult problems has become the focus of our therapeutic endeavors in the field of child guidance. Reaching this stage has been an interesting and difficult procedure, as it has meant going against very definite and almost universal trends in the adult-child relationship, and against common practice in most community organizations dealing with problem behavior.

In dealing with child behavior the major objective has been, and still is to a large extent, the eradication of that behavior which is considered undesirable. If a child is stealing or truanting or is fearful or lying, the efforts of the adult world, more particularly in home, court, and school, have been to eliminate the behavior that causes deviation, and to do this by attempting to change the child. The most common approach has been either on a moralizing or reasoning plane, which seeks to convince a child of the undesirability of a type of behavior; or it has sought to deal only with those extrinsic factors of the environment, such as the gang, the neighborhood, housing, economic factors, etc., and the supplying of more wholesome outlets to replace the less desirable ones. The punishment motive has been more a part of the moralizing approach and naturally follows as a stronger incentive when the child fails to respond and does not conform to the adult code.

In both of these approaches it is the behavior of the child which is directly attacked, and eradication of the undesirable factors has been the dominant goal. The emphasis has not touched on those emotional factors in the relationships between the child and adult, but has continued on the more superficial level. It is obvious that treatment will remain on that level as long as we deal with the symptoms on a subjective plane only, while more basic, causal factors are neither understood nor treated.

That point of view which has had its interest in behavior motivated by a desire for a more fundamental understanding of causal factors has been able to go a long step forward to a more intelligent dealing with things aside from, but related to, the behavior of the child. But a dynamic interpretation of behavior has not always been followed by a dynamic type of treatment. Clinics with a good understanding of causal factors have found it a matter of considerable difficulty to get away from the rather primitive eradication objective. Attention has continued to revolve very largely around what the child was doing and our therapeutic urge led us to adopt, in a great many instances, a treatment program based on the specific suggestion type of therapy, which might be termed the old moralizing type of approach disguised in a little more modern type of dress. By specific suggestion I refer to that reliance on telling the parent what to do if Johnnie lies or steals. It is a method which glorifies a means of handling to the neglect of factors causing the trouble. Sound interpretation based on known facts has not always been carried over into treatment, and it is this further step which we are now trying to take.

The demands of the movement frequently force a psychiatrist or a social worker to adopt the specific suggestion type of approach. A distraught parent faced with an acute problem demands prompt relief. If her young child will not eat she requests specific directions as to what to do. The question of what shall I do becomes the focus of the whole study, and our desire to maintain a good contact and our own therapeutic urge to correct leads to the adoption of this approach even when we know that in giving such advice we are helping to gloss over a more fundamental problem which the study has revealed to be the real source of the child's difficulty. These suggestions when tried out usually fail. And every psychiatrist and social worker in this field knows the sense of futility that results when one has exhausted all one's pet suggestions and the problem remains unsolved, and the parent returns for more, frequently gloating over the fact that all your ideas are fine theory but don't work in practice. This is what happens when you get caught trying to tell a parent how to raise his child rather than helping the parents to an understanding, and a modification of much more important things either in their own lives or in their own relationships that have led to the difficulty.

This is an example that probably can be duplicated in the files of every clinic and in the experience of all those working in this field. A child of five was referred by anxious parents because of fears and temper outbursts and poor eating and sleeping habits. At the time of the original study, there was a fairly good understanding of a very difficult situation in the parents' own lives, involving economic factors, a marked sensitiveness about racial and social status, and a very critical attitude toward them on the part of their own families, who had attained a better all-round adjustment. The importance of these things as they affected the child were recognized, and yet the treatment program was largely focused on the behavior of the child. The parents were given a careful interpretation of the behavior, and detailed directions were given as to how to get the child to eat and how to deal with the tantrums. Nothing wrong with the instructions; they conformed to the accepted standards on this habit training level. The child was worked with directly by the use of star charts and other paraphernalia. Little progress was made because the fundamental problem in the adult life of the parents was left untouched, and two years later we had to start over again. A really dynamic interest was lost in the static attempt to change the behavior of the child.

One of the unhealthy features of this focusing on changing the behavior of the child by rather direct but superficial means is that it has provided the adults with another way of avoiding the necessity of facing their own problems that bear a causal relationship to the behavior of the child. It overlooks a fundamental principle in modern psychiatry, namely, that behavior is reactive and adaptive and an emerging phenomenon, and expresses the way an individual is meeting a situation. It does not seem sound, therefore, to attempt to change the behavior without altering those factors which have contributed to its development. To keep away from this level is one of the most difficult tasks that confront the psychiatrist and the social worker in the field of child guidance, and to do it means that there has to be a rather clear objective in their relationships with parents from the very outset.

The mere alteration of a child's behavior does not always mean that therapy has been successful. In fact, I am inclined to feel that an approach based on this type of therapeutic objective frequently does more harm than good when the problem really arises out of much more fundamental difficulties in adult living. When it does not arise on such a basis, then it is not very much of a problem and some of the petty irritations in the parent-child relationship can frequently be ironed out on this superficial level. It is probable that those things will work themselves out if psychiatrist and social worker can restore or strengthen the confidence of the parents in their ability to handle their children. Too much of the literature on parent education and on child psychology has centered on method and has failed to emphasize that if method is to be of any value it must be used in an atmosphere where there are found some of the essentials for normal human relationships.

Our treatment philosophy seems to be swinging away from the child and toward working out with parents and other adults their own problems which cause them to adopt attitudes and relationships with children which cause disturbances in the growing up process. The establishment of that type of relationship between clinic and parent presents a problem in technique and tact and understanding that is the most difficult thing that confronts us.

Direct approach to a parent can be on a constructive basis only if it recognizes that parental attitudes and relationships have a genetic history and therefore a reason for existing. Too frequently we have an appreciation of the genetic history of a child's behavior and see the effect of a destructive attitude on the part of the parents and yet fail to recognize that it too has a background which must be worked out with them if a real change is to be effected. The direct approach to adults must be on an understanding level and not on one which only points out their mistakes and increases their sense of failure. There is a great deal of this destructive type of direct dealing with adults, particularly in courts and schools.

A fairly direct and sympathetic working out with the adults of their own attitudes and relationships, not only with children but with other adults, particularly those in their own families seems to form the objective toward which we are working in the field of child guidance.

The way of doing this is important. The important thing is not the giving over of insight which a staff has worked out, but more the utilization of this interpretation as a guide to getting them to discuss and work out the things which seem important and the giving of insight to them when it seems to fit in with what they have been able to work out and accept. It is quite possible to work on this direct level with a parent without arousing defensive reactions and irritability. Where such reactions are aroused, it is a certain indication that by speeding up you are going beyond their capacity to apply some of the changed attitudes in their daily relationships. There can be developed a type of rapport between worker and parent which will give them a feeling of a joint interest and responsibility in working out an understanding of a problem, rather than a relationship where a parent is going to be told what to do and why certain things have been done in the past. The more connections you can get the parents to make themselves, the more successful will be the treatment. The fewer specific suggestions for handling this or that type of child reaction, the easier it will be to get them to feel that with the re-establishment of confidence in themselves and their own maturity, the better they will be able to decide those specific things themselves.

In attempting to approach treatment from this level of modifying those parental attitudes and problems that have become related to the child, there is no idealistic desire to eliminate all the problems of adult living. With many adults from various economic and intellectual levels, a chance presents itself to create some understanding and acceptance of their own problems and attitudes so that they can be kept from enmeshing the growing child in them. The child so easily becomes the symbol of the hopes and fears of the parent struggling with unhappy relationships and disappointments. Treatment *aims* to create a type of perspective that allows a child to progress more normally to emotional maturity than is possible when he gets entangled in the problems of adult living.

The question arises concerning the value of working directly with the *young* child when the major factors are known to lie in the parental attitudes. There is no question that a great deal is learned concerning the working of a child mind and material gained that can be given to parents to help them to a better appreciation of the effect of their own attitudes on the child. The chief difficulty of working directly with a child is that it frequently helps the parents to avoid facing the major issues involved by giving them the feeling that the psychiatrist, because he is doing a lot of direct work with the child, also feels that the changing of the child in some manner really is the most important thing to be attained.

Frequently direct work with the child is essential in order to build up a good working relation with a defensive parent, so that a more direct approach to their own problems may later be brought about. As an example of this, we recently studied a nine-year-old boy who had been doing some stealing. The father was a very aggressive, domineering man whose whole conception of his relation with the boy was to force him to a rigid standard of discipline, to plan his every move, to restrict his interests, and to expect a high standard of performance that would be satisfying to his own unsatisfactory attitude toward himself. He was not ready to work out his own relation to this problem, as his own deeply ingrained philosophy grew partly out of a very Spartan relation with his own father, in whose methods he had entire faith; and yet he was interested enough to bring this boy to the clinic and ask us to find out why he was stealing. But he wanted us to find the reason in the boy and not in his relationship with him.

In such instances, if our treatment objectives are kept in the foreground of our own thinking, even though for reasons of expediency the carrying of them out is postponed, we would seem to be on fairly safe ground. However, I am inclined to feel that we have been led into an expedient type of treatment philosophy by being somewhat overcautious in approaching rather early in the case the adult problems involved, and staying too long on a specific suggestion level. There is need of more thought-out courage in therapy in order to get away from non-essentials.

One factor in treatment which must always be watched, particularly with students or those whose experience is being formed, is the tendency to identify one's self in a rather subjective way with certain persons in the case. We had been working along with a parent of a difficult problem boy, and the psychiatrist had been attempting in many interviews to give this mother an interpretation of why the boy was doing certain things. One day the mother remarked with some anger, "You never see anything wrong with that boy." Suddenly the psychiatrist realized that he had identified himself with the boy and in so doing he was placing himself in the rôle of a critic of the mother, and she rebounded from him just as she was doing from the boy.

The capacity to be objective with all the individuals in a situation and still give them a feeling that you are sympathetic and anxious to understand their point of view, and to maintain that relationship in an atmosphere of tension and friction, is possibly one of the superhuman tasks that we ask of social workers and psychiatrists in the field. Successful therapy in reintegrating those human relationships affecting the behavior of a child is dependent very largely on one's capacity to reach this goal.

It seems certain to me that we cannot split treatment up into artificial and meaningless compartments. The fourfold type of study that has been of so much value in the child guidance clinic has led to the temptation to do this very thing and to think in terms of social treatment, psychiatric treatment, etc. Such a conception is quite out of keeping with a broad integrated concept which sees the individual reacting to, and in turn reacting upon, a set of conditions. These two things cannot be dissociated.

The smoothing out of this artificial distinction between social and psychiatric aspects of a case has contributed to more clarity in seeing the essential similarities in the various fields of social work which deal with human relationships, and that the treatment approach to a problem differs very little, whether the entering wedge is the child or an alcoholic father. There probably still exists disagreement on this point, but progress seems to be ironing out these differences and is helping to clarify the essential treatment objectives in the various fields which basically are the same.

Some of our therapy has led to a certain subjective feeling of hopelessness, because of a tendency to set up rather idealistic perfection standards for all of our cases. When there is a good objective grasp of the total situation, there will follow a plan which recognizes that some things can be accomplished and that others must be accepted as relatively fixed. Our treatment objectives must be individualized with a relative sense of proportion as to what can and cannot be accomplished in a given case. Feeling hopeless in any situation is a subjective emotional reaction on the part of the worker, and is usually based on a sense of one's own futility in adjusting his own therapeutic expectations to the possible accomplishments in that situation. Students find this the hardest thing to incorporate into their treatment philosophy, particularly if their training has been on a very intensive basis on a small number of cases. A perspective comes in seeing the possibilities in a fairly wide variety of problems and in the opportunity to work along with a situation over a period of time.

In conclusion, it appears that a great deal of progress has been made in our point of view about child behavior in the type of therapeutic philosophy that will lead to a more wholesome relationship between child and adult. Progress in the future will depend upon our ability to implant more of this point of view in all community forces dealing with children, particularly with those who have deviated from socially acceptable forms of behavior. This objective is the foundation of modern psychiatry. It is interesting to note that in 1906 Dr. Meyer made this statement in one of his papers: "Achievement (in the field of prevention) will come less as the result of attempts at eradication than through the more rational method of furnishing such timely protection and balancing material as will make dangerous tendencies harmless."

The balancing material in the therapeutic philosophy in child guidance seems to be the creation of a better balance and a more rational understanding of the problems of adult living. Affecting, as this will, the important attitudes which adults take toward the child, the dangerous or unhealthy tendencies will be made not only harmless but unnecessary.

THE RÔLE AND AIMS OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN TREATMENT

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THE records of a family case working agency yield interesting material on the personality and behavior difficulties of the adult. The agency function is defined more largely in terms of treating material problems, for example, unemployment, illness of the wage earner, marital disharmonies, and the like. The client himself knows that it is his problem which is to be approached. He is therefore, perhaps, more accessible to discussion of his difficulty than he is when he comes to the clinic to refer his child as the problem. Contact, too, is made more substantial and at the same time more difficult by his practical needs for financial assistance, job finding, and health care, which may divert attention from his emotional problems. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the underlying personality problem, of which the client may or may not be aware, can be introduced at expedient intervals when he is ready to turn the searchlight on himself.

There has been a growing recognition in the field of social case work that every individual is essentially different from everyone else. It is what we might expect with the variation in the life experiences of every person. It has, perhaps, been comparatively easy to uncover these experiences and their consequences in the life of the child, since he has so few years behind him. The factors to which he is reacting are in his immediate environment or in the relatively discoverable past. It has been more difficult to understand the adult and therefore harder to sympathize with him because we were not in a position to know what happened to him in his growing years nor his feelings about those happenings.

When he comes to our attention we often judge him on the basis of his present behavior, which may seem unjustified by anything we now see in his life. Yet the attempt to trace the causes of his behavior makes us more cognizant of his peculiar difficulties. Conduct which has previously been regarded as perverse or stubborn comes to bear a striking similarity to that of the problem child. The fact has slowly emerged that we cannot fully understand the adult unless we know him in the light of his childhood and see what problems were created there which he has since been blindly trying to solve.

What application of the principles involved in the understanding of the problem child can we make to the treatment of the adult client? Explorations into the past histories of these adults ought to help us to find some clues to causation and to treatment based on an understanding of the problem.

Mr. T applied for help in finding temporary placement for his six-months-old son. His wife was in despair because he had been unemployed for months. In a spell of temper she accused him of not wanting to work and told him to stay home with the new baby while she went back to her old job. He could not understand her because they had previously been so devoted to each other. After the baby arrived he had been so fond of the child that he could not bear to leave him even to look for work. He would leave the house, only to return in a short time because he felt some harm might come to the baby. Once when the baby was ill he cried for hours for fear the child might die.

Somehow matters were complicated for him after the birth of this baby. Everyone seemed to be against him; his wife no longer had time to listen to him; and no good jobs were available. Is there any reason why his difficulties should come to a head at this time of his life. What complex situations were there in his past which led up to this conclusion?

He was born in Norway twenty-six years ago, the middle child in the family of a wealthy manufacturer. His father was a self-made man who never knew what it was to play himself, and, consequently, did not tolerate it for his three sons. Inasmuch as he had built up his business he expected them to carry on his name, and, as soon as they were old enough, he took them into the firm. They knew that their lives were planned for them and any attempt to follow their own inclinations was met with rebuff. Neither were they rewarded with praise or expressions of approval for their labor. As they grew older, they were given no freedom in making even minor decisions for themselves. The father simply did not understand; only the mother had any sympathy for them. For the first ten years of his life Mr. T was the youngest child and his mother's favorite. Then another child was born. He was greeted with rejoicing by the parents, who had waited so long for a third son. From that time on Mr. T had to accept the fact that his mother's attention was directed more and more toward the younger brother. He resented her seeming neglect and chafed under the restraint imposed upon him by his father. Finally, when he was twenty-three he was unable to endure it longer and ran away to the United States.

He arrived with $100 in his pocket and the determination to make his own way. He could have used his father's name for reference in several well known firms, but, rather than do this, he took unskilled work as a salesman in cigar stores. He could be his own boss, and this made up for the hurt his pride suffered in a menial position. He changed jobs frequently, but took care of himself. When he was twenty-four he married Mrs. T, to whom he was attracted because she was so kind to everyone.

The first year of their marriage was extremely happy. He was affectionate and demonstrative, but even then needed to be reassured that she cared for him. He wanted the first child, but during the period of his wife's pregnancy he complained that she no longer loved him. Just at the time when they needed money most, he lost his job because he refused to take orders. He seemed to show little concern about finding work, although they had no other income. He grew sulky, refused to get up in the morning, and demanded that his wife wait upon him. After the birth of his child, he grew irritable and even more critical of his wife. His anxious love for his son seemed to be his only interest outside himself.

His concern and regard deceived even himself. He forgot that it was important for him to provide materially for his family rather than to stay at home to stave off imaginary dangers. What forces were at work to paralyze his reasoning powers? We recall that when he was ten years old his baby brother appeared and absorbed his mother's attention, which he had previously enjoyed exclusively. From that time on he felt left out and never again found the same kind of security until his wife provided it during the first few months they were married. Then, with the coming of his own child, he lost her undivided interest and found himself again with a rival such as his brother was in those early years of his childhood. He could not openly betray his jealousy of his own son, so he solved it unconsciously by an overwatchfulness and unreasonable devotion which appeased his guilty conscience. His problem in holding a job was further complicated because of his rebellion against the authority imposed upon him by his father, with the result that he could stand no authority even when it was not unreasonable.

Before we could plan treatment for Mr. T, it would be necessary to explore these early experiences so vividly recreated in the present and existing powerful influences on his character.

Mrs. C is an example of a person who was mistaken in the means she used to secure the things she wanted most. She was not an encouraging figure when she first made the acquaintance of the family agency. Her husband had deserted her several years before and she had subsequently lived with three other men. When the last one disappeared she was seven months pregnant and, consequently, unable to care for her other two illegitimate children. Her morals were certainly in question, if we think of her as an ordinary prostitute. Why was she willing to run the risk of being an outcast and to sacrifice her respectability among her friends? When we go back into her past, this is what we find.

Mrs. C was the youngest child in a family of four, three girls and one boy. Her father made a comfortable living, and the family was respected in the community. Mrs. C was her father's favorite. She was a tomboy and wanted to be like him. Now when she is in trouble she believes if he were living she would not have to worry. "I was his pet, the youngest, and he spoiled me." Most of all, she was grateful because he shielded her from her mother, who was stern and harsh in her discipline. Her mother never wanted her and always disliked her the more because the father gave the child so much attention. Even her sisters sometimes stood up for her because the mother was so unjust. Once she took poison to see if her mother would care, and was only scolded for causing more worry. Usually she refused to do anything her mother asked and did everything to annoy her. In her heart, however, she admired her mother and longed for her affection. The other children were frank in their dislike of Mrs. C because their father liked her best. She envied them because the mother loved them, and, after all, the mother had the upper hand in the household. They had the best clothes while she wore the hand-me-downs. They had music lessons, which were denied her. She felt the injustice keenly and often exhausted herself in tears of rage and self-pity.

When she was fourteen, her father died of heart failure. It was she who found him slumped dead in the hallway. She was so frightened and so grieved that for months when she came home from school her mother had to meet her at the door. The next two years were not happy ones, when she no longer had her father to intervene in her behalf. She left school to work at her trade of a clothing finisher. Her brother ran away from home and her two sisters were married. They made fun of her because she had no men friends. She was alone with her mother, who grew more and more irritable. When she met Mr. P, who was five years older than she, and he asked her to marry him, she was glad to get away from home.

He took her to live with his mother, who immediately disliked this rival for her son's affection. Trouble followed. Mr. P upheld his mother's contentions and criticized his wife. Soon after his first child was born he deserted, and Mrs. C was forced to return to her home. Her mother taunted her with the fact that she was a deserted wife and told her she could never get another man. To prove that she could, she went to live with Mr. K, who promised to be good to her because he knew her troubles. He lived with her for three years and was planning to marry her when she got her divorce. He was arrested for burglary, however, and, after a prison sentence of two years, disappeared. The next two men with whom she lived both promised to be good to her and make her a home. The first left because his friend told him he was foolish to support another man's children. The last left her when she was pregnant. She herself took the blame for their leaving. "I think a man is good and will be good to me, but I can't get anybody to stay with me. I am too easy, too trustful."

Her family broke with her during these affairs. Her sisters used one excuse after another to keep her from seeing her mother, saying she would die if she knew. She was excluded from all the family celebrations because she was a disgrace.

Does this story furnish us with any material which helps us to understand Mrs. C more clearly than before? As a child she was pampered by her father and allowed to have her own way. In contrast, any requirements of the mother seemed unfair. Added to this, the fact that the mother did not want the child created many problems. She was so anxious to prove that she was a person to be recognized that she failed to exercise good judgment. Because her feelings were so intense, she could not see that she was defeating her own ends by her defiance. When she thought she had found the same kind of love her father had given her, she failed to take anything else into consideration. As a result she harmed herself, and her family were further estranged from her.

These clients, then, often understand as little why they behave as they do as a small child. Even when they realize that they are mismanaging their affairs, they are incapable of setting themselves straight. On the surface, they may be defiant, ashamed, or indifferent. When we see beneath these attitudes, we may find a sense of helplessness, failure, and resentment which keeps them from leaving the past behind them and which colors their chances to live successfully in the present. When we become familiar with his history, we realize that each one is the product of his past experiences. The problem adult is simply the problem child who is grown up physically. He is hampered in meeting his adult problems by all the difficulties which were created by his previous experiences. By virtue of the number of years behind him, his situation is more complex as the old patterns have been overlaid and re-enforced.

How can we help free the client from his weakness? How can we help him realize his own potentialities? Let us go back to Mrs. C. We have seen that she was looking for love similar to that afforded by her father. In each instance she was disappointed. The result only intensified her need to prove herself to her mother. She magnified the importance of achieving the approval of her family and became obsessed with the idea. It was apparent from the first that Mrs. C had certain assets. She showed a degree of independence in her work, using initiative in finding jobs and keeping them. She was interested in her children and under no condition would part with them. They were well-cared-for, well-behaved little youngsters, all favorites in the neighborhood. Her family had evidently not lost all interest in her because they continued to buy the children clothes and to send her things she needed from time to time. It became apparent that if she were really going to be stabilized she would need a security to keep her straight that would include her acceptance by society and by her family, otherwise she had no incentives for self-control.

In all instances, the client needs to develop self-respect if he is to be able to maintain an independent existence. Mrs. C had no position at home, and the feeling that no one approved her made her put little value on herself. She was not free to weigh the type of man she went to live with, because she was so grateful to them for noticing her at all. When they left her she felt that she was at fault, and her inferiority increased. How different she would feel if she saw that these men had problems in their own weakness and unreliability which made them leave her, apart from anything she contributed to the situation! Likewise, if she interpreted the withdrawal of her mother and sisters as due to their desperate realization that she was bound to get into difficulties from which they could not save her, she would know they would be overjoyed if she made good. The fact that she had real qualities for which she honestly deserved recognition make it easier for her to build a new sense of self-esteem.

The goals that are set up must be within the client's reach, or he will lose hope of attaining them and sink back into his old undesirable attitudes. Mrs. C already had a goal in her desire to have a place for herself in her family.

The client needs to see why others react to him in various ways. Mrs. C must first see herself as the spoiled and wilful child who tried to irritate her mother before she can come to see that her mother had reason to be impatient with her. Because her father was indulgent she may have misunderstood her mother's attempts to discipline her when it was for her own good. She can see that her mother may have been jealous of the attention the father gave her as his favorite. She had felt that she was always the one to be punished. She must see that her sisters won approval by the obedience which she never manifested.

The client needs to see and profit by his own experience. Mrs. C is aware that her past indiscretions only brought trouble to herself and all concerned. She can see that it did not pay, that the cost in terms of what she lost with her family, whose affection was, after all, what she most wanted, did not make it worth while. She is too wise to make the same mistakes again. She needs to see that in going to various men she was still a little child looking for someone to care for her, as she herself said, and defying her mother. She is actually no longer a child. Her happiness now must lie in being the good mother to her own children, who need her as she needed her parents.

There are certain general principles which we can summarize in our reflections about treatment.

The manipulation of the case worker's relationship to the client is perhaps becoming one of our more conscious techniques. In working with the child the natural parents are already in the picture, and, in so far as they can be enlisted, they are urged to become the good father and mother so necessary for his development. No such natural opportunity remains for influencing the adult's development. The case worker, therefore, as the person to whom the client turns for advice and on whom he becomes dependent, sometimes for financial aid, and, in the case working relation, for guidance and approval, actually fits into this rôle of parent-person. She becomes the understanding parent who neither criticizes nor blames, and, therefore, makes it possible for the client to dissolve many of his old resentments against parents who did not understand. She sees all sides of the situation and can be depended upon not to fluctuate in her attitudes from praise to personal disapproval. If the case worker plans her treatment on the basis of being the good mother to the client, she must not confuse this with the idea of being indulgent. Her influence must have the proper balance of firmness and commendation if it is to be productive of growth and improved behavior, rather than merely protecting the client from undesirable faults already established.

The adult cannot always have his own way nor follow all his plans any more than the six-year-old whose whims must be curbed. There is a delicacy of skill involved in the guidance of the client in his steady process of overcoming obstacles and moving forward to new independence. It is not easy to know at which point he is able to carry responsibility, or whether he still needs the assistance of the worker. The only test lies in a close objective observation of the client himself. What suggestions has he made use of? What new activity has he initiated of his own accord to change his old disposition? As treatment proceeds he must be prepared for the worker's withdrawal at the time when he gives evidence that he is a self-maintaining individual within the limits of his personality and his environmental situation. The relationship is one that demands a good deal of further understanding and is too complex to discuss in its technical aspect at this point.

It is necessary that the case worker accept the idea that adjustments are relative at any one time and conditional to the client's capacity and circumstances. Unless we are able to recognize limits within the client, we are due to be disillusioned. We can be well aware in the case of Mrs. C, for instance, that she may not be able to maintain a solitary existence in the face of old pressures. It does not discount the value of the attempts she has made to manage her affairs even if she is vanquished by unfavorable conditions. Some individuals are handicapped by lack of intellectual capacity and by physical defects. Some have labored under harmful and unnatural early experiences so that their characters are warped and twisted to such a degree that we do not know at present how to remedy them. It is true of all of us that, even though our habits may have served us badly, we are loath to change our ways unless we are too uncomfortable with the difficulties they create, or unless we see that we must change our tactics to attain something we really want. Regeneration by an act of the will alone is a miracle which we learn not to expect once we accept the idea of continuity of experience and causal relationship.

In some instances the case worker must recognize that the only adjustment possible for a particular client may be thwarted, in that certain restrictions and requirements in the environment will not tolerate it. This is particularly true of such clients as the extreme alcoholics and chronic deserters who, because of arrests in their personality development, will probably never be able to assume responsibility of an adult nature. For the young child the environment often can be shifted so that the irritations to which he is reacting may be removed with no direct treatment of the child himself. This is rarely possible to any great degree for the adult client. Employers can understand certain situations. Relatives and families can be cooperative in so far as it is practical. On the whole, however, it is demanded of the adult that he face the reality. At this point the gap between the child he is and the adult he should be may cause treatment to break down because it cannot relieve him of burdens he is too immature to carry. In the past we used authoritative methods to make the offending adult live up to his responsibilities as we saw them.

Physical disabilities alone were recognized as grounds for a man's failure to support his family. In the future, as our understanding increases, lacks in personality assets may be taken into consideration as much as physical illness. Experience would seem to point out that demands incapable of fulfilment only create new conflicts in the individual and hasten his deterioration.

All attempts at conscious treatment of the adult client are in an experimental stage. We have made only a small beginning in our efforts to find out what factors are at work and how best we can deal with them. In the past we have tried to make over our clients and turn them out in a standardized manner after a trial and error process. We were disgruntled when we failed and inclined to lose faith in human nature and our own professional function. Now we suspect that we often attempted the impossible. It is no wonder that chaos has prevailed when we realize the task that is imposed upon us by the detailed study that must be made of each separate client. No assumptions can be made that one person is like any other. No generalizations can be applied. Each must be considered on his own merits and in view of his own specific problems. For some time to come, we must work slowly, experimentally, and honestly until we can build a technique for understanding and for treatment. Only patience and the conviction sustained by results can help us push further into this hitherto unexplored field of social treatment.

There is real satisfaction for the case worker in accepting the challenge of a task which has always fascinated and baffled society, the task of realizing the undeveloped potentialities of human nature. Our recent experience has given us reason to feel that we have the key to new knowledge in our hands. We believe that we are going in the right direction and that we shall emerge gradually from our confusion.

MENTAL HYGIENE IN OUR SCHOOLS: ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS TOWARD PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

Elizabeth Dexter, Visiting Teacher, Newark

A COMMON attitude of many of us who have turned to the school as an agent in the treatment of case work problems is that the school is a rigid, inflexible institution. We see it as chiefly concerned with the child's academic instruction, and largely lacking in social vision. It seems to employ factory methods in meeting the problem of mass education, using a common mold and paying scant attention to any individual needs. We see in the average teacher a stern disciplinarian who maintains repressive order as a convenience to herself and manages her class as a single, impersonal unit, with little appreciation of the forty or forty-five evolving personalities who compose it. Her main objective often seems to be to lodge within her pupils' minds certain prescribed facts within certain prescribed periods. She cannot tolerate misbehavior or inattention or any conduct that serves as an obstacle to her ends. We are inclined to think her entirely unaware of, or indifferent to, the complicated forces that enter into the life of the child. That he is a confused little human being, blindly seeking some sort of security in a strange world, is a consideration she seems not to take into account in her determination to teach him to read and write. The security with her which he craves and which is so essential to his well-being and his full intellectual functioning, she inadvertently attacks by appeals to his feelings of inferiority. Punishment by humiliation is the usual disciplinary method.

Those of us who have ventured behind the classroom scenes, and observed the situation through the eyes of the teacher herself, know that there are extenuating circumstances to excuse the seemingly indefensible position she often assumes. First, we see her confronted with large classes of from forty to forty-five children. To maintain daily, over a period of from four to five consecutive hours, a happy *rapport* with a large group of children is not a simple task. To expect the teacher to function constantly at a level of 100 per cent adequacy is expecting the impossible. The case worker is fortunately never faced with her clients in a body and is not exposed to the necessity of incessant, intimate contact. Intimacy in any relationship generally results in a lack of objectivity because the individual's own ego is likely to become involved and take on an importance that distorts perspective. Misbehavior, certainly, is an immediate threat to the teacher's ego, since she is expected to maintain constant discipline; it is therefore not unnatural that she should become alarmed when she appears to be losing control and should protect her dignity by resorting to stern measures. Furthermore, the heavy emphasis placed on academic instruction today allows little time for deliberate effort on her part to consider her pupils' emotional problems, nor is this recognized as a part of her job. Education is still conceived of largely in terms of brains and very little in terms of personality. The teacher may be greatly interested in the personality problems of her pupils, but she knows her reputation rests on the educational returns the class is able to make at the end of the term. She is sure that she will not be graded by her skill in relieving Mary of the jealousy carried over from home and expressed in quarreling with classmates, nor in showing Johnny a form of authority he can respect in contrast to the unreasonable kind he experiences at home; instead, she knows she will be graded on how well she succeeds in teaching Mary and Johnny to add and divide. And it is this authority which the teacher is expected to exercise and to which she herself must submit that constitutes her greatest problem. Authority is ever present in a school system. Public opinion bears down on the board of education, the board of education asserts its authority upon the superintendent, the superintendent his authority upon the assistant superintendent, the assistant superintendent upon the principal, the principal upon the teacher, and finally the teacher upon her pupils.

Our patterns of behavior are generally nothing more than a constant repetition of the original reactions developed in our early relationships within the family group. That is, we all are exposed to the danger that life may become a succession of dramas with new trappings and new scenery but actually always enacted on the original family stage, with our own rôle changing but slightly. Maturity comes as we free ourselves from these early attachments to the family group and from these infantile habits of reaction, so that we react to life as it actually is and become independent in an adult world. Perhaps in no situation is the repetition of the family pattern so obvious as in a school system. Especially in the lower grades, the teacher's dominant problem in maintaining discipline is to dispense her favors so equally that her pupils' competition for them will be reduced to a minimum; thus, largely relieved of mutual jealousy, they may be able to accept each other in happy companionship. This challenge of the classroom is a natural and desirable one for the child to meet; in fact, he must meet it if he is to develop emotionally. Unfortunately, however, the teacher in her turn is part of a similar family group, with the parent-persons symbolized by the principal and vice-principal and the brothers and sisters by fellow-teachers. The principal usually has a great deal of power over his teaching staff. In his hands lie opportunities for advancement and recognition. It behooves the teacher to be a "good child," to yield to his opinion and fear his disfavor. This analogy of the family pattern might indeed be carried further and embrace the school system as a whole. The teacher's ability to assist the child in making a healthy adjustment to authority depends upon the extent to which she herself has evolved an adult attitude. Unfortunately, the structure of the school, with its repetition of the family situation, may stand in her way and keep alive her own early infantile reactions. This interferes with her personal growth and prevents her developing a more mature ideal of authority which, reflected in her management of classroom problems, would exercise a powerful influence on the development of healthy attitudes toward authority on the part of her pupils.

This tradition of unquestioned authority—large classes, imperfections of curriculums, and lack of special educational facilities—are the teacher's heaviest burdens. It is surprising, therefore, to discover that even in the face of these handicaps most teachers do see beyond the immediate problems of classroom instruction, and that they become readily interested in problems involving the emotional lives of their pupils. Once they are given the opportunity to become familiar with the nature of the inner world of childhood, and to appreciate some of the mainsprings of personality and character development, they respond quickly to the new rôle they at once see for themselves. They gain an understanding of the importance of the emotional security a child can win through the teacher-pupil relationship and recognize how this security may be used to control behavior and also to improve the child's intellectual functioning. They are quick to accept the explanation that the motivating force in human behavior is inevitably a search for love and recognition, and are ready to go a long way in helping the child to find in his school relationships satisfaction for these two fundamental human needs. With this new orientation, teachers begin to question their own reactions and to recognize the fact that everything they do tends either to relieve or to exaggerate the problem of the child.

Recently, a group of teachers were discussing the problem presented by a seven-year-old boy in the first grade who persisted in getting under his desk and grabbing the legs of anyone who passed by. It was agreed that the teacher's reactions would set the stage and at once determine the nature of the combat. Should the teacher drag the child out? Should he be shamed, bribed, coaxed, or ignored? How could the emotions necessarily aroused in this crisis be utilized so that they would have a constructive effect on the child, the class, and the teacher? The group decided that the most expedient method would be to ignore the child and at the same time have the class do the same. This would deny him attention because of his misbehavior. It would avoid frightening the other children with a show of force, against which this child or any child has no chance, a situation liable to result in some of them identifying themselves with the culprit in his uneven struggle against adult authority. Finally, it would give the teacher the satisfaction of remaining objective and of handling a difficult situation without disturbing the *rapport* between herself and her class. When teachers learn to handle a problem of discipline in this way, we have new and powerful forces for the treatment of behavior problems.

Usually the child whom the teacher first recognizes as a problem is the one who overtly misbehaves. But as her understanding increases she becomes alert to the more subtle symptoms of unadjustment. Casual remarks and situations formerly regarded as amusing and anecdotal she sees as significant. The eight-year-old youngster who signs his name "Pilot X," draws aeroplanes on all his papers, and entertains his classmates by tales of his stunts in the air is not a disciplinary problem; the teacher recognizes that he leads a fantasy life and at once refers "Pilot X" to the visiting teacher.

The shy, withdrawn child is one the teacher especially enjoys helping, once she recognizes this type of behavior as unhealthy. Following is an account written by a teacher of her method of handling such a youngster:

> Little Miriam was a very timid, shy, nervous, but clever child. She seldom recited, never volunteered but always when called upon had a worth while contribution to make. I tried to find a way into her social experience so she would gain confidence in her classmates and in me.
>
> I proceeded very gradually and without fuss so as not to embarrass her or make the class feel that Miriam was receiving an unusual amount of attention. Briefly, this is what I did: Seated her so that she would be centrally located; asked her to recite only when she seemed to want to (eventually, she very timidly volunteered); praised her work casually (at first I did not look at her); praised rows of children calling the row first by the name of the child who sat in the front seat, then in the second seat, finally calling Miriam's row by her name; sent her to the board with

four other children, then with two, then alone; very carefully and very gradually I managed to have her talk to me of her family; asked her to pass paper because she read smoothly or wrote neatly, etc.; asked her to read to the class.

She is now persistent and eager in volunteering. She enjoys humorous situations and seems happier. She has confidence in me but very little in her fellow-students. I hope the next teacher carries on the work.

The problem of Leo, twelve years old and in the VI B, was detected through a composition he wrote, when the class was assigned the subject of "A Strange Notion I Have Had." He describes his habit of killing all cats he can lay hands on and burying them in the cat cemetery he has in the backyard. Realizing the possible significance of this tale, whether fact or fancy, the teacher loses no time in referring Leo to the visiting teacher. In a leisurely talk she leads him from a discussion of the things he likes to those he dislikes, and Leo tells of his hatred of cats. When asked if he can remember when he first began to feel this way, he states that it began when he was a small child. One day he took a kitten to his mother to pet and as he stood beside her the kitten scratched him severely across the cheek. As he associated his hostile feeling to a situation in which his mother figures, the conversation is gradually directed to his feeling about his family and particularly his mother. Then, he bursts forth with a bitter tale of how unkind his mother has always been to him, of his unhappiness at home, and of his plans to run away.

A visit to the home reveals a serious situation. The mother is apparently psychotic. During the last year she has had several periods of excitement in which she screams and throws dishes or anything she can lay hands on. She is disorderly in her dress and gives little attention to her housekeeping. After the birth of her third child ten years ago she was committed to the hospital for the insane, but was released a few months later at her husband's request because he had been unable to find suitable care for the children. She was born in Poland some forty years ago and although she has been in this country many years she has learned to speak very little English. Leo is the second of eight children. The mother is erratic in her behavior toward all the children, but

Leo, at one time her favorite, is now most often the object of her reproaches.

The father, Polish-born, about forty years of age, is a tailor by trade and formerly made an excellent living. In order to look after his insane wife and the children, he was obliged to move his shop into his home; this meant less time to give to work and his business has fallen off considerably. He realizes his wife should be in a hospital, but as that would mean breaking up his home, he prefers to struggle on until his oldest daughter is old enough to take charge. He is a calm, steady person devoted to his children. He has noticed that his wife's condition has been more pronounced during the last year and her antagonism against Leo more marked.

In clinical examination Leo is found to have good physical development and high average intelligence. In his talk with the psychiatrist he reveals a deep resentment toward his mother and a feeling of utter hopelessness both at home and in school. He is reacting to the painful reality that faces him by withdrawing from those about him and wasting his energy in day dreams of running away.

Had it not been for the teacher's subtle understanding of the possible significance of a chance composition, Leo might well have gone unnoticed, as the only outward evidence of his suffering was the rather mild symptoms of poor work and a shy, quiet manner. Actually, we find a boy whose self-confidence has been entirely destroyed, who feels unloved and unwanted, and is beginning to develop an unhealthy withdrawal from the situation that overwhelms him. The essential influence needed in his life at this time is the security which his mother cannot supply. The one person in his environment who is able to give him at least some of the satisfaction necessary for his adjustment is the teacher.

This teacher willingly took the responsibility and without sentimentally indulging Leo made him aware of her interest and confidence in him. She gave him special assignments in history, his best subject, and persuaded him to take a small part in a school play. Occasionally, she asked him to remain after school to assist her with some of her work. She encouraged him to talk to her of his difficulties at home. Through his clinic contacts he was gradually able to accept his mother's attitude toward him as the result of her illness. He was encouraged to assume more responsibility for his younger brothers and sisters. Considerable time was spent in trying to arrange for the mother's examination and it is only recently—a year later—that her commitment has taken place. During this time Leo has shown steady improvement. He no longer talks of running away, he mingles more with other children, and stands high in his classwork. The skill of the teacher in taking over the rôle of a kind, wise mother in the life of this boy proved an invaluable force in bringing about his adjustment. The problem of his academic instruction was solved by straightening out his emotional conflicts and releasing his energy for schoolwork and activities normal for a boy of his age. During this period, he was being educated in the highest sense of the word, with emphasis on that integration of personality which in turn made possible the maximum functioning of his intelligence.

These cases have been presented to illustrate the type of treatment teachers are capable of giving. The point of view reflected in the handling of them did not develop merely from a superficial sympathy, easily aroused for an individual child and likely to disappear as easily as it came, but rather from a real understanding of the inner life of children and a recognition of the emotional needs that must be satisfied if harmonious personalities are to be achieved.

A child guidance clinic in a school system would not be realizing its larger opportunities were its influence confined to those cases specially referred to it. Its most permanent contribution is the understanding of personality and behavior problems which the teacher may acquire as an independent resource for meeting the varied and successive crises of each school day. As her perception of potential problems becomes more sensitive and her skill in handling them increases, she becomes a radiating center for prevention and treatment affecting a larger group than any specialized department in the school system or any specialized agency in the community could possibly reach. For her contact is daily, continuous, and intimate. It is an inevitable contact the values of which she has only to discover to find a new and compelling interest in her job. As teachers and school administrators become more aware of the rôle they may play in personality and character development, the public school will be approaching that profounder education at which it has so earnestly aimed, an education making for the maximum competence and maximum happiness of each individual child.

MENTAL HYGIENE AS A BROAD EDUCATIONAL VENTURE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SPECIFIC PROGRAM IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

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IN PRESENTING for your consideration a program for the development of a mental hygiene movement in a specific locality we are fully aware that we are presenting one that may not be applicable everywhere, since the psychiatric needs of a community, as those of a patient, are largely individual. We are likewise mindful of the immaturity of the present program, but we feel that the success which has met the past efforts has been sufficient to warrant its presentation.

Mental hygiene as an educational venture in Colorado began about ten years ago with the movement inaugurated by a group of neurologists and psychiatrists for the erection of a state psychopathic hospital. It is admittedly a basic need of any mental hygiene program to provide adequately for the care of those cases requiring admission into hospitals. With this need in mind the State Medical Society fostered the erection of a hospital designed to care for "those cases suffering from nervous and mental disorders who will probably show improvement under hospital care and treatment." The conversion of the medical profession to this program was itself a considerable task, but the labor expended at that time is still making goodly returns.

The next step was the education of the legislature. In a state whose taxable resources are limited, the creation of new institutions is viewed with concern. For successive years legislators refused to consider the proposal, not because they did not recognize the need, but because they feared the opinion of their constituents as expressed at the polls. Finally, they sought to appease the agitators without incurring the wrath of their supporters by passing a bill authorizing the institution but providing no funds for its construction. They did not stop to consider that the interested psychiatrists would understand the mental mechanism behind this move and would be prepared to meet it.

The institution being authorized, the mental hygienists organized a campaign for a bond issue to provide funds for the erection of the hospital. With the active help of the State Medical Society and the various social agencies, the bond issue was passed by a large majority.

The institution was placed under the control of the Board of Regents of the state university and was organized as a department of the university. It was stipulated that the director of the hospital should also serve as professor of psychiatry in the medical school, a provision of considerable importance in the educational program of the movement, inasmuch as it assured the people of the state that the graduates of the medical college of the university would have an opportunity to study mental disorders in a modern treatment hospital and become acquainted with the principles of preventive medicine in the field of mental health.

This knowledge of the background is necessary for a proper understanding of the place occupied by mental hygiene at the beginning of actual work. The conception was vague, to be sure, consisting chiefly of the idea that something was going to be done about insanity. For example, two years after the hospital had been in operation we had a request from a father that his son, who had been confined in the state hospital for twelve years, be placed at the head of the list of patients from the state hospital who were being "worked over" and returned to their homes, restored in mind and body. Others refused to seek admission to the hospital for their relatives, because they feared that once a state organization established a contact with the relative they were destined to remain state charges continuously. But, in general, the people were interested because they had voted to invest in the undertaking, and they were anxious to receive the benefits from their investment. No indication of the preventive possibilities of child guidance clinics was recognized, and it was left to the hospital director to call attention to this phase of mental hygiene and to develop it.

The first activity outside of the hospital was the development of a mobile clinic. The possibilities of a mobile clinic as formulated by Dr. Ebaugh and Miss Lloyd were that:

> (1) It can establish actual contact with the community which makes it easier to evaluate the social forces surrounding the individuals who come to the hospital for treatment. (2) It can collect data as to schools, arrangements for recreation, types of vocations and numerous other important factors that contribute to the social welfare and adjustment of patients. (3) It can secure at close range important information as to the environmental influences to serve as a basis for the hospital's recommendations prior to the patient's discharge. (4) It can bring before each community in a thorough and intimate fashion, the aims and purposes of the hospital, matters pertaining to the admission and discharge of patients and information as to the current trends in preventive psychiatry. (5) It can form contacts with local physicians. (6) It makes possible the neuropsychiatric examination of adults and of children of preschool age and school age who present behavior and habit training difficulties.

This mobile clinic unit, consisting of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and a psychiatric social worker, became a part of the traveling clinic already organized by the Colorado Child Welfare Bureau, State Tuberculosis Association, State Dental Association, and Extension Division of the university. Because of the newness of mental hygiene conceptions to the participating members of the clinic, as well as to the people of the communities visited, it was necessary to devote considerable time to explanations, for instance, that psychometric examinations did not mean vocational guidance; that one's being referred to the psychiatric unit was not an indictment on the grounds of insanity; that we were not phrenologists and not mediums.

As the clinics progressed, the various social units in the communities came to understand the work, which continued to be educational and diagnostic although its scope gradually broadened. During three years the traveling clinic as a whole examined 12,500 children and adults in 120 communities. Of this number about 1,600 were referred for psychiatric examination. The spread of the conception of child guidance is indicated by the fact that out of the first 6,250 cases examined only 667 were referred to the psychiatric unit, of which only 36 per cent were reactive behavior disorders, whereas from the last 6,250 cases examined 835 were referred for psychiatric examination, of which 60 per cent were reactive behavior disorders.

Once the understanding of the possibilities of a guidance clinic became apparent, the lack of facilities for treatment by the mobile clinic itself became as unsatisfactory to the community as to the psychiatrist. Consequently this demand for a different type of clinic has resulted in the establishment of three part-time base clinics at points which serve as centers to the surrounding territory. The establishment of these has depended upon the utilization of existing community assets, since the resources available would not permit much additional expense.

The oldest clinic of this group is in Sterling, 150 miles from Denver. The school physician, who served the schools of the entire county in an advisory capacity, attended the guidance clinic conducted at the Psychopathic Hospital for a year preceding the establishment of the clinic and took a summer course in psychiatry. Meanwhile, plans were formulated for the establishment of a base clinic. The community was familiar with the work done by the mobile clinic, recognized its own need for such work, and was willing to contribute definitely to the project. Consequently, it was felt that if the base clinic was to be attended with any degree of success, it must be established in such a way that the community should not only contribute financially to its support but should also enter into the program with a cooperative attitude toward a joint study. Caution was necessary to avoid overselling the idea lest, when established, the clinic be expected to perform miracles such as the modification overnight of behavior traits which had been years in developing. A balance had to be struck between the inspiration and drive necessary to accomplish the establishment and continuance of a clinic and the overenthusiasm which would effect the easy establishment of a clinic but would render its continuance difficult or impossible. A review of the social resources of the community was made. The most highly organized unit was the public school system, including a music department with a band which had been runner-up in a national competition, an orchestra that had repeatedly won a state competitive cup, and a choir that was similarly successful. It also included a vocational training arrangement by which students interested in particular industries were given credit for supervised work in those fields. Under this plan students reported at feed yards where they calculated formulas, weighed out rations, and shoveled them off the wagon. They reported in like manner to a sugar factory, stores, banks, and to various artisans. The athletic department had well organized teams and participated in local interscholastic competition. These details are mentioned as evidence that the cooperative spirit was already present here.

The educational psychologist had completed a classification which, in association with the contract system of assignment of school work, cared adequately for the academic training of the majority of the children. The emotional adaptation remained in large part without attention. The County Medical Society, the Boy and Girl Scout leaders, church organizations, juvenile court, service and luncheon clubs, county Red Cross, county superintendent, county commissioners, local school boards, parent-teacher associations, fraternal orders, and study clubs were possible points of approach to stimulate an interest in the project of a guidance clinic.

After preliminary preparation by Dr. Barney, the school physician, a demonstration clinic was held. Conferences with the members of the various organizations followed and their cooperation was assured. The clinic was established with the school board guaranteeing the expenses.

The plan of the clinic was to have a psychiatrist from the psychopathic hospital make a monthly visit. The selection of cases was left to the school physician and school psychologist, who were to secure the history and supervise the follow-up work with the assistance of the psychiatric social worker from the psychopathic hospital. Through the office of the county superintendent of schools, the county nurse, and the services of Dr. Barney in visiting the schools of the county, contacts were established throughout the district so that the service should be that of a real base clinic.

The work has progressed under the plan as formulated. It was evident at the outset that, with the available personnel, it would be impossible to treat all the behavior problems present in the community. Consequently, an effort was made to select for intensive study those cases of greatest educational value and to carry the remainder as consultant cases, working little with the child but keeping active contact with teachers, parents, physicians, etc.

The management of the cases referred was dependent almost entirely upon the utilization of local resources. The physical components of any case were ordinarily taken care of by reference to the family physician before the patient came into the clinic. Exceptions to this were cases presenting obscure disorders and those in which the authority of an outside impartial physician was necessary to reinforce a local doctor's recommendations. The management of the behavior problems varied in certain fundamental aspects from the procedure previously followed in a city clinic. Technique that utilized foster homes, boarding schools, and similar elaborate social agencies must of necessity be abandoned. Adjustment, if it could be effected, must be accomplished through modification of the environment.

An illustrative case is found in a boy who was referred by the teacher for failure to pass his school work, truancy, and "hallucinatory experiences." Physical examination was negative. Psychometric tests gave an intelligence quotient of 104. Social investigation discovered the family to be relatively isolated in community contacts owing to their observance of a religious faith not common to the district. The few other communicants of this church in the vicinity were all adults. They were strict in their observances and held regular services. The family consisted of the mother and father, the patient, aged ten, and his brother, aged thirteen. The first disturbance in behavior had been noted when the patient was eight years old, at which time he began staying away from home. He was usually found in company with older individuals and engaged in some type of work. His description of his experiences was vivid and his explanation of his absences from home most fantastic. He had increasing trouble in getting along with his older brother. In school he made a good social adjustment and was not regarded as a behavior problem except for his occasional truancy. The older brother was an entirely different reaction type—quiet, recessive, asocial, spending most of his time out of school in practicing his music lessons. He was "dependable," and consequently had been made largely responsible for the home duties and as a result was resentful of his younger brother's liberty.

The problem of these two emotionally unadjusted children was approached first through the family. With the aid of the visiting social worker, interest in the parent-teacher organization was stimulated. This resulted in enlarging the social contacts of the family as a whole. The younger boy was given more responsibility in the home. He soon began to feel that he was a member of a family that occupied a definite place in the community. With this altered relationship his truancy gradually ceased and his interests were directed along productive lines in school. Through the music instructor the older boy was encouraged to devote less time to music and more to outdoor activity. He joined the Boy Scouts and developed rapidly in scout craft as well as in his type of social adjustment. The result in this case, since, although there were four individuals, it really was treated as one case, has been an entire change in home atmosphere, an improved school and social adjustment for the entire family.

The work of the instructor in music, scout master, and parent-teacher organization in this case was duplicated in several other cases and paralleled by the work of the school principal, the juvenile judge, the vocational training instructor, the athletic director, and many others.

As a valuable adjunct to the actual work of the clinic, a class in mental health problems of childhood was organized under the

Extension Division of the university. This course was conducted by the visiting psychiatrist and regular college credit given for its completion. In this class were teachers from the various public and parochial schools, four school superintendents from small towns of the district, representatives sent by the local parent-teacher and study groups, who reported back to their organizations, and other interested individuals. By acquainting this group with the principles of mental hygiene and child guidance the clinic benefited directly in three ways: first, cases which ordinarily would not have been sent to the clinic were referred for study; second, cases which usually are referred to a clinic, that is, the lower grades of deficiency, were not sent in but were handled by group conferences; and, third, cases that were being handled through the clinic were receiving improved supervision and follow-up care. The indirect benefits in the way of increased interest, altered attitudes, and broadened views can only be estimated. The spirit of informal conference rather than that of dogmatic pronouncement was fostered, and consequently the contributions of these groups to the solution of the problems in this new field of educational venture were invaluable.

That the clinic is functioning as a base clinic for child guidance is adequately shown by statistical data. Seventy-six cases have been studied. Of this number 16 have been referred in from towns from eight to fifty miles distant. Only 3 of the cases referred for guidance had an intelligence quotient less than 70. Of the rest, 14 had intelligence quotients of from 70 to 90, and the remainder were over 90. Thirty-three cases were referred by school principals and teachers, 14 were referred by parents, 6 by physicians, 4 by the juvenile court, and the remainder by personal applications, social workers, county nurses, and interested friends.

We would not attempt to estimate the results obtained in a clinic of one year's duration. However, the hearty cooperation of all agencies and the general community attitude toward mental disorders and behavior problems, as well as the attitude toward a better mental health for all individuals, is sufficient commendation for the work.

Two other clinics have been established and a third is being organized at the present time. In one community the public health organization defrays the expenses, and in the other the public schools and county commissioners share the expense.

We have endeavored to trace the directed growth of a mental hygiene program in a rural community. The program has gone through a stage to stage process, each stage of which has been as essential to the sound maturity of the completed program as the stage to stage development of the child is essential for his sound maturity. We believe that the requisites of success are, first, a stable organization to support the program and to furnish qualified personnel to the community; second, a stable local organization to maintain a close contact with its own problems; third, an educational program conducted by both organizations to insure the integration of the plan into the life of the community. If these requirements are met, the fellow in psychiatry and the psychiatric social worker will benefit by a field for supervised work in rural community problems, a field in which the personnel is notoriously inadequate; the hospital will benefit by the establishment of closer relationships and better understanding with local communities; the individual studied will benefit by improved opportunity to develop his own capabilities; the school will benefit by improvement of normal adjustments and the solution of problems of maladjustment; the community as a whole will benefit by learning to evaluate its resources in terms of mental hygiene and the developing of a consciousness of what constitutes sound mental health.

DISCOVERING NEW TOOLS OF MEASUREMENT

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THERE are two reasons for the present demand for measurement in the field of social work. The cruder of these is economic. We, as a professional group, are spending at present such vast sums of public money that mere self-preservation would counsel the acquiring of data to show what use we are making of the wealth thus intrusted to us.

The more significant reason for the current interest in measurement is a scholarly one. The federal census has, since 1790, created an invaluable store of information that not only is important historically but has also rendered significant service as a point of reference for policy making bodies of the government, for students, and for demographers. In recent years business has in like manner both fortified itself and made important contributions to economic knowledge through unflagging zeal in amassing data. Social work has thus far accomplished comparatively little in building up a similar background, though students of the social services have repeatedly pointed out the need.

Granting, then, that measurement is a problem with which social workers are now faced, the question arises as to what means may be used to develop the measuring rods upon which the constructing of a body of factual material depends. Certain measuring sticks have already been created and have been used with varying degrees of success. No one denies that they have been useful but, on the other hand, few are content with the relatively small achievement thus far attained. The immediate task, therefore, is to devise ways and means of building upon past accomplishments.

There are two methods of setting out to discover tools of measurement. The first of these is historical. Some of the national organizations have been studying the problem of measurement for more than twenty years and have published from time to time the results of their efforts. In some cases they seem to have met with reasonable success. Here and there units have been defined which, if intelligently applied, will yield useful information. Moreover, the reports of the committees that have made these studies are of great value in forestalling fruitless undertakings.

The second method of devising measuring rods in social work is analytic. Programs are dissected by the logical method in an effort to discover the basic service units. I shall try to indicate presently how this method may be applied.

Some social workers declare that quantitative measurements are of no importance. The significant thing, they declare, is not how much we do, but how much we accomplish. Results, not motions, are the test of value, they assert. This argument is the more subversive because it seems to have the ring of plausibility. As a matter of fact, however, it would be equally tenable to maintain that there is no point in determining through the Census Bureau how many people there are in the state of Illinois unless we can also ascertain how many of these people are good and how many are bad. It is difficult to regard seriously the contentions that there is no value in having any knowledge unless we can know everything.

Let us pause for a moment to consider some of the tools of measurement now in use. These tools are by no means all new. Some of them have been known for years. In that sense they may be said to have a history, yet it has been possible to adapt some of them to uses they have never previously served and thus make of them what is really a new implement. Others have been evolved by the analytic method and may in the end prove ill-adapted to the ends they are expected to serve.

The illustrations I shall use in demonstrating a few of the possibilities of developing new tools of measurement are drawn from a body of data collected during 1928 at the University of

Chicago by a Joint Committee of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago. The history of this experiment is too lengthy to repeat here. Briefly, it has sought to promote measurement in social work and to assemble statistical data that not only would be useful to councils of social agencies but would also contribute to knowledge of social work. It has done this by gathering monthly reports on the service rendered by twenty-four types of agencies in twenty-nine cities of the United States. The agencies covered concern themselves with the treatment of individual cases of dependency, delinquency, and illness. Organizations interested in leisure-time activities have not been included.

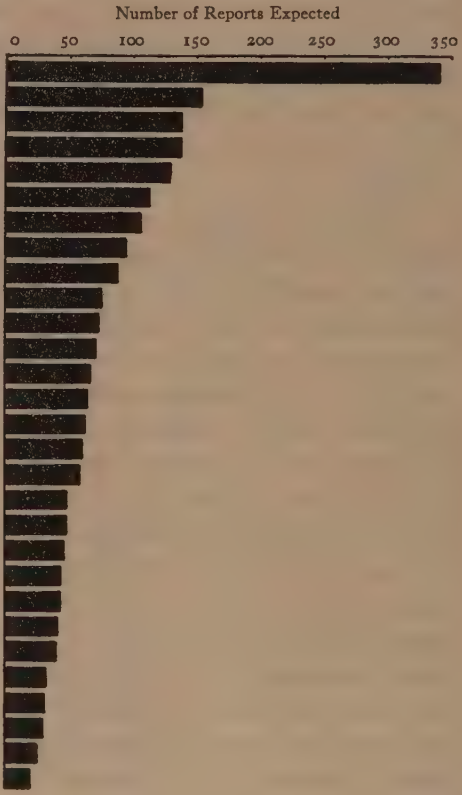
Chart I will give, I trust, some idea of the scope of the undertaking. Opposite the name of each city (in some cases the metropolitan area rather than the legal city was covered) appears its population as of July 1, 1928. The total population of the registration area on that date was in excess of thirteen million. The solid bars represent the number of reports expected from each city each month. Although this chart seeks primarily to give a picture of the registration area, it also affords some interesting food for speculation. The number of reports due each month from Cincinnati, for example, was slightly larger than the number due from Detroit, although the latter city is roughly three times as large as the former. Which of these two situations is the more desirable these figures, of course, do not reveal. The councils of social agencies in the two cities, when confronted with the data, are the bodies best equipped to decide that question. Centralization of work as opposed to decentralization may possibly be the explanation. In Detroit, for example, three agencies handle the public health nursing problem, while in Cincinnati there are nine agencies working in that field.

Out of a total of 27,456 months' reports due, 21,278 were actually received in the central office in Chicago. This represents, no doubt, the largest body of statistical data ever assembled in the field of social work. The mere size of the collection does not, of course, entitle it to distinction. Accuracy and reliability are in the last analysis the important qualities. While it is true that the figures are undoubtedly more dependable than it was thought possible to achieve in the first year, some of them fall short of the standard that must be attained before they can be accepted with complete confidence for policy making purposes. The method used in compiling them was one generally admitted to be sound. It is a truism in statistical work of this character that trust-

CHART I

POPULATION OF CITIES IN THE REGISTRATION AREA FOR SOCIAL STATISTICS AND NUMBER OF REPORTS EXPECTED EACH MONTH DURING 1928

Metropolitan Area	Population (Estimated) July 1, 1928	Number of Reports Expected Each Month
Chicago	3,129,000	340
Cincinnati	523,000	153
Detroit	1,628,000	139
Cleveland	1,174,000	138
Minneapolis	459,000	130
Buffalo	727,000	113
New Orleans	429,000	106
St. Paul	263,000	95
Newark	473,000	88
Denver	294,000	76
Columbus	339,000	73
Omaha	215,000	71
Richmond	245,000	67
Des Moines	162,000	65
Grand Rapids	180,000	63
St. Louis	965,000	62
Indianapolis	385,000	59
Scranton	167,000	48
Wichita	90,000	48
Sioux City	80,000	46
Canton	120,000	44
Reading	148,000	44
Dayton	219,000	41
Akron	260,000	40
Springfield, Ill.	66,000	32
Lancaster	61,000	31
Harrisburg	102,000	30
Springfield, O.	73,000	26
Sharon	55,000	20



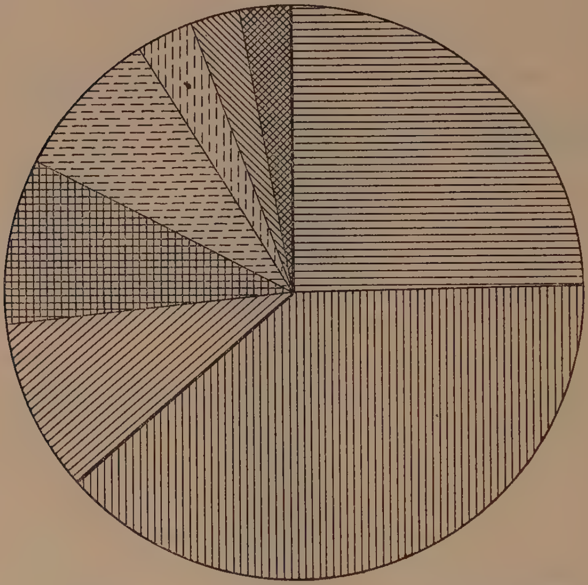
worthy data can be attained only (1) by formulating schedules that will yield the information desired; (2) by installing these schedules in the offices in which the information originates; and (3) by supervising the collection of the data. Since this is the plan by which these figures were assembled, they have some claim to thoughtful consideration. On the other hand, some fields of social work have not yet been adequately delimited and some of the units of measurement are still ill-defined. In such fields no method of collecting figures will prove thoroughly satisfactory until the basic problems of definition have been resolved. The Registration of Social Statistics has sought to solve a few of these puzzles. In new specialties particularly, such as psychiatric social service, visiting teaching, and medical social service, an attempt was made to analyze processes and to determine the basic units of count.

Let us consider some of the figures that have resulted from this compilation to determine whether they constitute a step in the development of new tools of measurement. Chart II is a pie diagram showing the amounts given by the relief agencies of the city of Chicago during the calendar year 1928. If we take the whole pie to represent all relief, then we find that the largest portion of it was distributed by the Mothers' Pension Division of the Juvenile Court, amounting to 38.9 per cent of the total. The Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare gave practically a fourth of all relief. Total public expenditures, therefore, were 63.7 per cent, or nearly two-thirds of the total. The combined expenditures of the private agencies represents 36.3 per cent of the total for the city. Of this amount the largest expenditures were made by the United Charities, with 9.6 per cent of the total, the Jewish Social Service Bureau, with 9.5 per cent of the total, and the Catholic Central Charity Bureau, with 8.5 per cent. The Salvation Army spent 3.2 per cent of the total and the St. Vincent de Paul Society 2.8 per cent. The remaining 2.7 per cent was given by the four following societies, each of which expended less than 1 per cent of the total: American Red Cross, German Society, Vocational Supervision League, Scholarship Association for Jewish Children.

CHART II

FAMILY AND EX-SOLDIER RELIEF IN CHICAGO, 1928

$2,689,786



		Per Cent Distribution of Total Relief
	Public departments	63.7
▤	Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare	24.8
▥	Mothers' Pensions	38.9
	Private agencies	36.3
▨	United Charities	9.6
▦	Jewish Social Service Bureau	9.5
┅	Catholic Central Charity Bureau	8.5
╪	Salvation Army	3.2
▧	St. Vincent de Paul	2.8
▩	Other private agencies	2.7

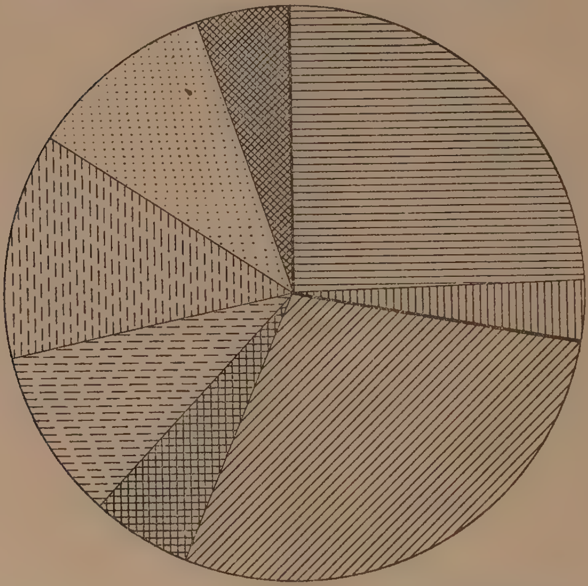
It is arresting to reflect that the total amount given in relief by these agencies in 1928 was $2,689,786.32. Thus, the bill for relief in the city of Chicago represents a sum of imposing proportions. I believe this figure is substantially correct. No doubt a small organization could be found here and there whose disbursements do not enter into this total, but the amounts of a few small groups would not, in a total of this size, make any appreciable difference. The figure quoted here does seem to include the disbursements of all the large recognized agencies upon which Chicago depends for the handling of its poverty problem. The Mothers' Pension Division is the only single agency of this group whose annual expenditures was in excess of a million dollars, the total for 1928 being $1,046,453.00. The combined total expenditure of the two public agencies was $1,714,630.63. The amounts spent by the United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau were substantially equal, totaling $259,000.00 and $255,000.00, respectively. The Catholic Central Charity Bureau stood next among the private organizations, with a total of $230,000.00. The German Society, which gave the smallest percentage of the total relief, was nevertheless responsible for the expenditure of $11,432.00, which is more than the total sum available for relief in some of the smaller cities.

The total expenditures of the Cook County Bureau for 1928 were distributed as follows: blind pensions, $214,214.00; ex-soldier relief, $47,658.00; family relief, $406,306.00; total, $688,178.00. If we add the amount expended by the Bureau in aid to ex-service men to the total amount expended by the Red Cross, which, for the year, was $20,202.00, we find that the total amount expended last year in Chicago for the relief of ex-soldiers was $67,860.00.

Chart III shows the number of family welfare and ex-service cases under care in Chicago in 1928. Both major care and minor care cases are included in these totals. The preceding chart indicated that nearly two-thirds of the relief is administered by the public agencies, but we find from this chart that only slightly more than a quarter of the cases are in their hands. This difference is particularly arresting in the case of the Mothers' Pension Division, which gives 38.9 per cent of all relief in the city to only 3.3 per cent of the cases. One of the reasons for this will appear in a subsequent chart in which the amount of relief per case is shown. Obviously, however, every mothers' aid case is an allowance case, and the total number of cases is not diluted by a large number of minor care cases in which little work is done and upon which little money is spent.

CHART III

FAMILY AND EX-SOLDIER CASES IN CHICAGO DURING 1928



		Per Cent Distribution of Cases
	Public departments	27.8
▤	Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare	24.5
▥	Mothers' Pensions	3.3
	Private agencies	72.2
▨	United Charities	28.5
▦	Jewish Social Service Bureau	5.6
☰	Catholic Central Charity Bureau	9.6
┆	Salvation Army	12.9
░	American Red Cross	10.6
▩	All other private agencies	5.0

The private agencies, although they disbursed only 36.3 per cent of the relief, handled 72.2 per cent of the cases. Of this number, 28.5 per cent, or more than a third, were reported by the United Charities. As will appear later, a majority of these cases are minor care cases. The next largest number was 12.9 per cent reported by the Salvation Army, followed by 10.6 per cent reported by the Red Cross, 9.6 per cent by the Catholic Central Charity Bureau, 5.6 per cent by the Jewish Social Service Bureau, and 5 per cent by all other private agencies combined.

It was impossible to prepare charts for all the data we have at hand. Hence I shall quote a few additional figures here that may throw light upon this chart. An average of 14,164 major care cases are open per month in Chicago, of which 9,900, or 69.9 per cent, are in the hands of public agencies and 4,264 or 30.1 per cent, are in the hands of private agencies. Thus, the proportions here are practically reversed, indicating that the large load of minor care cases is responsible for the high proportion shown by private agencies when total cases are considered. Since some organizations keep cases in the open file which do not receive active service, it seemed important to determine the number of open cases actually worked on. This figure reaches the enormous total of 11,099 for the city.

When we examine the minor care figures we find a very different situation. In the first place, the total number of minor care cases is much smaller than the number of major cases. Only 3,016 minor care cases are worked on each month, as compared with 11,099 major care cases. Moreover, the private agencies report a much higher percentage of the minor care cases than do the public bureaus. The Mothers' Pension Division reported no minor care cases and the Cook County Bureau reported only 14 per cent of the total for the city. Almost two-thirds of all minor care cases reported in Chicago in 1928 were reported by the United Charities. (The minor care cases of the Salvation Army and of two Catholic societies were not included, however, in the total.) This may be due to the fact that the United Charities receives the bulk of the out-of-town inquiries and similar types of work that are usually counted as minor care, and it may be due to a more rigid interpretation by this agency of what constitutes a major care case. The great weakness of family welfare statistics at the present time is the vagueness of the concepts major care and minor care. It is not impossible, for example, that in reality the number of minor care cases worked on by the United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau are not vastly different, but that a radically different understanding of the dividing line between the two types constitutes the real reason for the difference in the figures. An actual comparison of the case load of these two organizations in a typical month would be interesting to determine whether the figures in this category reflect actual facts or whether they reflect merely differences in statistical interpretation.

CHART IV

Percentage of Minor Care Cases in Average Number of Cases Worked on per Month by Agencies for Family and Ex-Soldier Welfare and Relief in Chicago during 1928

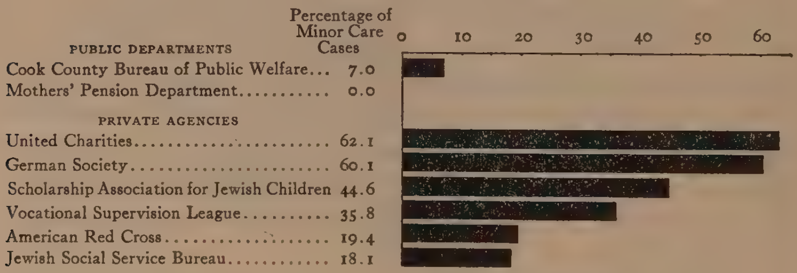


Chart IV also throws light on the one we have just examined. This chart shows the percentage of minor care cases in the average number of cases worked on per month. Thus the United Charities, which on the preceding chart was shown to have 28.5 per cent of all cases under care, is shown to have a very high proportion of minor care cases—in fact, 62.7 per cent of all cases worked on per month are minor care. Only 18.1 per cent of the cases worked on per month by the Jewish Social Service Bureau are minor care. The German Society shows 60 per cent of its cases as minor care, the Scholarship Association for Jewish Children reports 44.6 per cent of its cases and the Vocational Supervision League 35.8 per cent of its cases as minor care. The Mothers' Pension Division reports no minor cases and only 7 per cent of the cases worked on per month by the Cook County Bureau are reported as minor care.

Chart V relates major care cases to relief. The reports secured from the Salvation Army, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and the Catholic Central Charity Bureau were not sufficiently detailed to enable us to compute this figure for those agencies. An average of 8,993 major cases per month in Chicago received relief. The relief averaged $21.19 per case. The Mothers' Pension Division shows the greatest liberality in relief, the average being $53.07 per case. In spite of this high figure, the amounts given per relief case by the Cook County Bureau were so small that the average for the public organizations is lower than for the private, being $19.08 for the public, as compared with $31.67 for the private. The Cook County Bureau is more generous to its blind pensioners than to the ex-service cases or to the family cases. The blind cases received an average of $24.88 per month

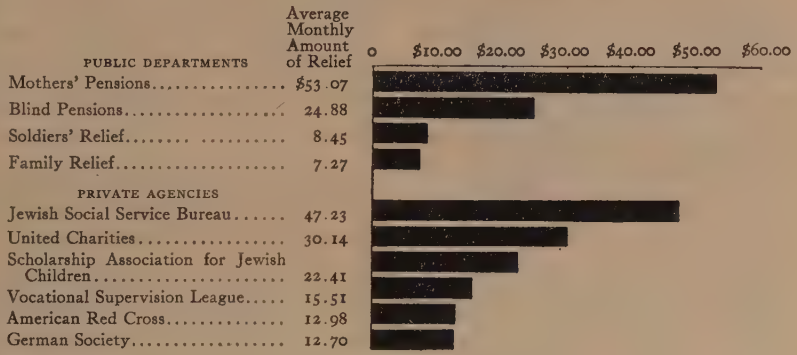


CHART V

Average Monthly Amount of Relief per Major Care Relief Case Given during 1928 by Agencies for Family and Ex-Soldier Welfare and Relief in Chicago as compared with $8.45 received by the ex-service cases and $7.27 received by the family cases.

The amount of relief per relief case given by the Jewish Social Service Bureau was $47.23, which is the highest of the private agencies. The United Charities is second in this respect with an average expenditure per relief case of $30.14. The expenditures for the other private societies were as follows: Scholarship Association for Jewish Children, $22.41; Vocational Supervision League, $15.51; American Red Cross, $12.98; German Society, $12.70. Thus, the average expenditure per relief case in all private societies was higher than in the Cook County Bureau's family department.

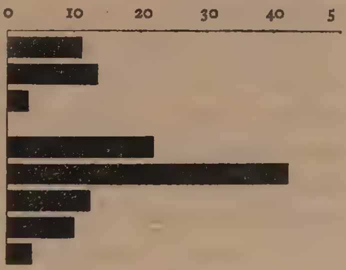
No chart was prepared for the minor care cases but the average amount of relief per month given to minor care relief cases was only $1,011.74 for all agencies, or $2.49 per case. The greater part of this sum was reported by the United Charities, which averaged $779.66 per month for minor care cases, with an average expenditure of $2.89 per relief case. The Jewish Social Service Bureau shows a smaller expenditure—only $108.10 per month—but a much higher average expenditure per relief case—$5.41. The public bureaus report no minor care cases receiving relief. The Mothers' Pension Division reports no minor cases at all, and the small number reported by the Cook County Bureau are not relief cases. It would be interesting to study the files of the Cook County Bureau to determine whether most of their cases actually are major care cases. While the amount of relief per case is not necessarily an indication that cases receive minor care, still when the average for the case load is so small, it does seem reasonable to assume that the average is pulled down to this low point by certain cases which receive only small occasional relief. Such cases might still deserve to be counted as major care if the case work attention they received warranted, but if a case receives so little relief that it could not be considered an allowance case and if it receives care that is not characterized by thorough social diagnosis and planned treatment, then it cannot legitimately be called major care. The report of the Cook County Bureau is therefore comparable only in case its major care cases conform to this standard.

Chart VI shows intake as a percentage of cases carried over on the first of the month. These percentages throw light on the rapidity of turnover in the major care category. As might be expected, the Mothers' Pension Division, which has a small intake and carries cases for long periods of time, shows the smallest percentage here. Likewise the Scholarship Association for Jewish Children and the Vocational Supervision League, both of which have small intakes and carry cases for long periods of time, have low percentages in this table. The figure for all private agencies is 21.9 per cent, or nearly twice that of the public agencies—11.2. Although the figure for all private agencies would indicate that their rate of turnover is higher than in the public agencies, it should be pointed out that the figure for four out of the six private agencies is smaller than that of the Cook County Bureau. The figures for the United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau are 12.3 and 10 per cent, respectively. The Red Cross, with a more rapid turnover, shows 42.1 per cent.

CHART VI

Intake as a Percentage of Cases Carried Over on the First of the Month by Agencies for Family and Ex-Soldier Welfare and Relief in Chicago during 1928

	Intake as a Percentage of Cases Carried Over
Public Departments	11.2
Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare	13.5
Mothers' Pensions	3.1
Private Agencies	21.9
American Red Cross	42.1
United Charities	12.3
Jewish Social Service Bureau	10.0
Vocational Supervision League	3.7



Perhaps a few additional figures on intake would be of interest. The average number of major care cases taken under care per month in the city of Chicago is 1,762, of which 997 come to the public and 765 to the private agencies. The large intake of the public bureaus comes primarily to the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, which reports 934 cases per month, or more than half of the total for the city, while the Mothers' Pension Division reports an average intake of only 63 per month, or 3.6 per cent of the total.

Of the private organizations, more than half of the intake comes to the American Red Cross, which, with an average of 461 per month, accepts slightly more than a fourth of the entire intake of the city. The United Charities and the Jewish Social Service Bureau show average monthly intakes of 144 and 177, respectively.

These figures for Chicago for 1928 give some idea of the information that is made available to the individual agencies and to the Council of Social Agencies by a central statistical compilation. Similar charts might be prepared for the other fields of work included in the registration or for any of the other twenty-eight cities included in the registration area in 1928.

The question may now be asked whether we have here an emerging measuring stick that has not been previously utilized. A review of the uses that have been made of statistics in the past indicates that they have served chiefly the agencies that prepared them. Some agencies have wanted data only for publicity purposes, others have used them for internal administration, and a few have actually examined them critically for such light as they might throw upon developing trends, shifts in emphasis, or in community demands, and even upon the quality of the work and the efficiency of the program. In very few instances have the statistics been used to illuminate community needs.

The figures just quoted do therefore in a sense constitute a new tool which might be designated community-wide completeness. Even in the few cities where the city-wide significance of the data of individual agencies has been recognized, it has not always been possible to obtain reports from all local organizations. Some agencies did not belong to the Council, and others either could not supply the desired figures or else were reluctant to do so. Yet if all the social work operations of the community were to be studied, it was necessary to include the statistics of all agencies whether they were public or private, secular or sectarian, members of the Council or non-members. The Registration of Social Statistics, in its insistence upon completeness, has thus in some cities where the idea of community-wide use of statistics had already taken root, helped bring recalcitrants into line, and by thus filling the gaps in previous tabulations has for the first time made available to certain councils a complete picture of current operations.

Few would deny that the primary purpose of councils of social agencies is to effect a synthetic approach to the welfare problems of the community. Sometimes this larger objective has been obscured by the immediate objective of joint fund-raising, but the more ambitious program has rarely disappeared entirely from view. Ultimately councils desire to bring to bear upon the social problems in their cities the best brains, the finest skill, and all the knowledge available in the community.

Unless these councils have factual material with which to work, they are obliged to rely upon what someone has humorously described as "correlated opinions." When policies must be formulated on the basis of opinion alone, it is usually the viewpoint of the strongest-willed that prevails. Factual material is assembled by what we have come to call the scientific or the research method, and is most commonly either descriptive or statistical. Statistical data are usually preferred to descriptive material because they can be more economically assembled, and are more manageable and less subjective.

The figures shown in these charts are based upon units that have been known and used by individual agencies for many years. Except in a very few cities, however, these units have not been previously made to serve a community-wide purpose. In that sense they are in reality a new community tool. The Council, having before it a statistical record of all the family welfare work done in the city, is in possession of a new instrument. It knows that the totals of these figures represent all of the family work done in the community, and it knows the percentage of the total for which each agency is responsible. It thus has a basis upon which new problems may be allocated with greater justice should the territorial enlargement of the city or an industrial crisis precipitate a need for sudden expansion of the work.

The availability of the complete figures also presents other interesting possibilities. When all the agencies in the family field assemble about a table with their data reduced to tabular or graphic form, differences in the figures and in their trends will become apparent. Graphs, in particular, often reveal tendencies that escape notice by ordinary methods of observation. In examining the reasons for these differences the agencies bring to light variations in practice, in technique, in method, that must inevitably react favorably upon standards. Moreover, the very fact that data are complete and can be compared means that a concept of service measurement has been established that is uniform throughout the group. The importance of this achievement should not be underestimated. The data accumulated by the physical sciences command respect, for example, because they are expressed in such units as the centimeter or the gram—units that not only convey a precise meaning but have conveyed this identical meaning for generations. Measurements of social work, on the contrary, have failed to be convincing largely because they have been expressed in units that varied not only from locality to locality, but from one year to another within the same organization. Board members of long tenure have for this reason often gained very little real information concerning an agency's operations from an examination of its statistical report. Prolonged use of the same unit of service measurement by all the agencies in a given field should eventually give meaning to that unit and thereby aid the social work group in their perennial task of interpreting the program to the public.

THE PLACE OF THE COMMUNITY CHEST IN HUMAN RELATIONS

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MUCH has been written on the community chest, its form of organization, its budget procedure, campaign technique, and administrative policies. But in all of this literature there is found an almost total lack of emphasis upon the contributions the chests can make in developing a science of human relations. The time has come when the chest must become conscious of its opportunities and responsibilities in this direction.

Therefore, I decided to discuss in this paper several subjects which have not always been considered as belonging to the community chest field. The first of these subjects has to do with the whole field of human relations—the development of the science itself, the training for social work, and the coordination of subject material that can make contributions to this end. The major responsibility will be elsewhere but the community chest must be conscious of a needed development, cooperative in bringing it about, and, in many cases, the inspiration for it.

In man's progressive mastery of the physical world lies the record of his development from barbarism to civilization. Science is constantly arriving at an understanding and utilization of the laws of nature that are making them man's servant. But of man himself science can tell us very little. Our knowledge of the laws that govern human conduct is so incomplete that we truthfully can say there is no science of human relations. Law, medicine, business, government, and the world in general are finding it increasingly difficult to meet present demands without a better scientific understanding of human nature and human adjustments. This has become a matter of immediate importance.

For centuries individuals, social groups, and political units were almost necessarily self-sufficient, as natural barriers separated them. Even nations in close geographic proximity found simple social machinery sufficient to their needs. Methods used by nations in dealing with mutual social problems did not always eliminate misunderstanding, and as a result more or less serious conflicts arose at times. Nevertheless, civilizations were seldom conscious of retardation in their upward sweep by the breakdown of their social machinery until the World War.

The separate states in our American scheme of government needed little outside assistance in performing their duties, even from the national government or from other states. Cities and towns felt little dependence upon each other and to this day many of them do not realize that their original independence has become little more than a political tradition. The family was scarcely conscious of the city as a social unit and was influenced more through neighborhood customs and habits than through city, state, or national restrictions.

Gradually at first, but now more rapidly, a change has been taking place. Distance has been eliminated as a factor in social control as methods of communication have become swifter and more certain. The pressure of population has introduced new social problems and has increased the importance of those we already had. Machinery has replaced man-power, and in its wake has come leisure time to be organized and made socially productive. The world has become smaller and each of its parts has lost a measure of independence and has gained an importance as a part of a whole. Social machinery has not kept pace with these changing conditions. Nations, by the methods they employ in dealing with each other, can now retard or speed up human progress almost at will. Cities are dependent upon each other for both their social and economic prosperity. All of us are members of one family in a very real sense. In addition to this, science has furnished mankind with almost unlimited power, power that can be used for man's enrichment or his destruction with equal facility. Whether science can work out the laws that govern and control human conduct will be the deciding factor.

It is well to take stock at times to determine conditions as they are. The World War that shook the foundations upon which civilization rested has barely closed. Even more destructive consequences would follow another such war should it start tomorrow. Many thoughtful persons doubt if civilization could withstand another. Our inadequate social machinery is averting one only because exhaustion from the last one is still upon us. International relations have taken on a new significance and nations are mutually concerned over many social problems that formerly were confined within national boundaries.

Social conditions within our national limits give us even greater immediate concern. Laws no longer give security, and disregard for law is apparent on every hand. We have endeavored to meet this condition by passing still more laws, until there is a bewildering complexity of regulations and restrictions. For example, the population in the penal institutions of Ohio has doubled in eight years and the end does not seem to be in sight. The need for better enforcement of law is admitted by everyone. However, more laws or more stringent enforcement does not seem to be the answer to our query, "What is wrong with human behavior?"

We are increasing facilities for the care of the feebleminded and the insane in Ohio as rapidly as state funds can be secured. We now have nearly 5,000 housed in our institutions for the feebleminded and 15,000 more in our asylums for the insane. There are probably as many more outside such institutions who ought to be inside. Is it any wonder we ask, "What's wrong with human nature?"

In a nation that can scarcely tabulate its increment of wealth we have the sad spectacle of hundreds of thousands unable to secure daily employment. But why multiply illustrations? Progress in dealing with these conditions has been made, but the need for critical study has not been adequately recognized. We must learn more about man himself and upon this knowledge build a science of human relations.

In the universities the various subjects that deal with human nature and human adjustments must be coordinated. For example, economics and sociology must not take different routes however near and parallel they may be. We need a social economics. The various branches of science must work together. The world needs their separate contributions. It also needs their coordinated efforts if a science of human relations is to be developed. The science of human relations must build upon knowledge of the natural sciences, of psychology, law, medicine, economics, sociology, and many others. All knowledge properly integrated is the basis for a science of human relations.

To the universities we must look for leadership in developing the science of human relations, and from recent happenings in the educational world we shall not look in vain. Yale has announced an Institute of Human Relations. The University of Chicago is constantly expanding its efforts in a very practical way. Ohio State University is opening a year-round course for the training of social service executives. The University of Cincinnati will establish a new School of Social Administration in the next academic year. Many colleges all over the country are expanding their courses in sociology and offering training for social work. The importance and need of fundamental research in the social sciences is admitted by every thoughtful person. A science of human relations is in the making. Science usually has the opportunity to test its theories in the laboratory. The science of human relations, dealing largely with human beings, will need similar opportunities. Our various cities are such laboratories where the science may be furthered and where human beings may reap immediate benefits as the science is being developed.

It disturbs the daily routine of a community chest to become a part of such a laboratory; to offer itself and the social agencies as training centers for future social workers; to subject itself to the demands of local, state, and national research groups (and especially to answer questionnaires). However disturbing it may be, community chests should make every reasonable effort to cooperate with colleges, schools of social work, research bodies, and other agencies that are endeavoring to build a science of human relations.

Often our community chest executives and board members become so engrossed in the task of raising money, in the details of the administration of their immediate jobs, that they lose sight of the fact that their organization is but one of the links in the chain of effort that is being made to improve life. The community chest has become a powerful agent. It must have broad-gauged leadership. It is a powerful agent because it so often is the deciding factor in determining local social policy.

How are we meeting this opportunity? For many years the chest had all it could do to finance the agencies as they then were, with reasonable expansion in their budgets, and to coordinate their efforts. This, of course, was the first necessary task. Many community chests have not passed beyond this stage. They have failed to realize that to finance the agencies adequately they must give their communities a vision of a larger opportunity. We hear much about chests having reached a point of saturation in giving. Many of them seem to have reached this point.

If we study the educational efforts these chests are making we will find them, after ten years of operation, still raising their money on the arguments of economy, elimination of duplication, coordination of work, reduction in the number of campaigns—arguments which are sound but which by this time should be accepted by the public as natural and already realized results of community chest operation. Hence, they no longer are impelling as money getters. Our givers and prospective givers from now on must be brought to understand present social problems.

In the April campaign of the Cincinnati Community Chest the central theme of the publicity was character building. The work of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Boy Scouts, and similar organizations was referred to repeatedly as illustration. The connection between delinquency and crime and the work of character building agencies was pointed out with telling effect. Such agencies have been freely criticized in past years as not properly belonging to a community chest. This year they become assets in our campaign and not only was our total budget oversubscribed but the largest sum of money ever raised in Cincinnati for local social work was secured. The same thing was true when the Mental Hygiene Clinic was established. A thorough survey was made, the facts in detail presented to the public, and the appeal for funds carried direct to the people with satisfactory results. The point I want to impress upon you is that actual social needs and a program for meeting those needs furnish the best argument for the securing of funds in a community chest campaign. Other arguments should be secondary to this.

The community chest is desirous of placing upon taxation some of the social work now being financed through private funds. How has it attempted to secure this result? It has encouraged a complete separation of public and private agencies except as conferences have encouraged a certain amount of cooperation. It has not looked upon the task to be done from the community standpoint, the total amount of money both public and private available for doing the work, and under what direction the program should be undertaken.

I do not believe a private agency should hesitate to finance and, at the same time, to place under the supervision of a public agency that part of its work which it believes the public agency can do more efficiently. In this way the public agency learns through the actual doing the need for the work. The transfer from private to public support is thus made easier. In other words, there is need for an actual unification of program under one direction irrespective of the source of support in many of our social fields. Our Transient Bureau, for example, was supervised by the Public Welfare Department while the program was being financed by the Chest. The Public Welfare Department has now assumed full financial responsibility. A similar illustration can be pointed to in the Juvenile Court. Much of the development in this court was financed from private funds until the court was ready to assume the expense. The work of public and private agencies must be integrated. Constant campaigning to unload private social work upon public agencies is not the best way to secure results and, moreover, it does not guarantee that the work when accepted by the public agency will continue with the same high standards as is possible when the gradual process of transfer is made.

I believe that community chests have an opportunity in their relationship with state and national agencies not only to give a wider vision to their local constituency but to advance necessary state and national social service development. Our attitude as community chest executives has too often been defensive. We have looked upon the requests of state and national agencies as churches sometimes do upon an appeal to foreign missions. It may be well to learn that that kind of an appeal has often proved helpful to the churches. We have often failed to see the connection between the work of state and national agencies and our own local programs. We have overlooked the fact that we are important units in the sound development of state and national social action and that we dare not overlook our responsibility in this direction.

State and national agencies must be better coordinated, however, before adequately local support in chest cities can be assured. It is sufficiently difficult to convince a community of the need for state and national agencies without adding the confusion of presenting a bewildering array of appeals that, in many instances, would exceed in number those that are strictly local. State and national social work is necessary, and the local community must find a way to help worth while state and national programs. At the same time, state and national agencies must realize that things are not as they were and that a new relationship between themselves and with local communities must be worked out.

In discussing the larger opportunities of community chests my thoughts return again and again to one of the greatest needs in our modern city life—the need for competent socially minded leadership with a community following. The community chest has an unusual opportunity to train such leaders. When trained, they can be fed into the civic, political, business, and religious life of our cities. May I repeat what I have said on many occasions? I look upon the constant changing of community chest leaders as wise social policy. The easiest way for any one of us to supervise community chest work is to train competent leaders and then hold on to them year after year. The easiest way may not be the best way, and serious consideration should be given to the training of community leaders.

The community chest has made valuable contributions to modern city life. Its future possibilities are even greater than its past accomplishments. The realization of these possibilities depends upon the type of leadership we can supply it. This leadership must take into consideration the whole field of human relations and assist in its further development. It must conceive its job to be the correlation of the many forces that contribute to human development; it must not be satisfied to confine itself to the immediate tasks in hand. It must broaden its vision, see farther and deeper into its great opportunities, and translate these into constructive service.

THE WORK OF A COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

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COMMUNITY PLANNING FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

William Hodson, Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City

THE habit of procrastination is the vice of individuals and of governments as well as of social welfare organizations. In spite of all the warnings of the copy books and the success magazines, most of us neglect to plan our lives a year, a month, a week, or even a day ahead. The temptation to live from day to day and let everything take its natural and accidental course is overwhelming.

Take the case of the average city, which is, after all, just an aggregation of ordinary human beings and reflects, in its governmental organization, their vices and virtues. With rare exceptions no eastern city, until very recently, has thought much about the convenience, health, and well-being of its citizens five years ahead. Sufficient unto each day is the evil thereof. The result is residential areas ruined by the encroachments of business and industry; main arteries of traffic at busy times of the day choked with vehicles so that walking is easier and quicker when the sidewalks are not likewise impassable; transportation lines crossing through the heart of some cities and transversing public highways upon dangerous grade crossings; rapid transit trains, often inaccessible, frequently jammed with people crowded together like cattle, the service usually slow and inadequate; tall buildings occupying land that should have been reserved for parks, playgrounds, or school buildings; tenement houses and slum areas where filth abounds and people compete for the very air they breathe; all this primarily the result of procrastination, of refusal to think and plan for the future.

In the past the real city planners have been the real estate dealers, and they have not been concerned primarily with the public interest. They know what they want, however, and usually get it. In many communities today the speculation in real estate compares in character and amount with stock market transactions. There are ample profits in this type of foresightedness.

It is because we have come to the point in our urban development where the evils of congestion cause such pronounced irritation and inconvenience that city planning commissions have become popular throughout the country. But such improvements as they effect—and they will be many—will come at great cost, compared with what might have been done years ago by careful planning.

Now it is just as important for a community to develop a comprehensive program of social welfare and to chart the course of its future growth as it is to determine in advance where bridges shall be erected, highways built, and transportation lines established. The tremendous job of helping the poor, protecting children, caring for the aged, healing the sick, and providing wholesome community life calls for statesmanship of a high order, if the job is done adequately and efficiently. But the problem is a complex one.

It is important to remember at the outset that social work has developed on a trial and error basis. In the earlier stages of its development no one knew, no one could know, just what types and varieties of services were needed for a complete community plan. When the need for helping families became pressing, the pioneers in that work started organizations to serve families. When the neighbors in a given locality wanted a place to meet and discuss their problems, to get help and advice, the pioneer settlement leaders built neighborhood buildings; and so it has been for children's agencies, homes for the aged, and hospitals. In other words, social agencies have been established in response to particular needs which were disclosed at a particular time and place. The courage and vision of our earlier leaders provided remedies for definite ailments. In the beginning they were not concerned with the general social conditions of the whole city. Sometimes the location of an institution has been affected by purely personal motives, such as the fact that a trustee or friend owned a particular piece of property which he wished to donate to a charitable purpose, regardless of whether it was well located with reference to the need to be served. I recall a board member who did not wish to move her day nursery from an area which was largely deserted by its former inhabitants into a new and populous neighborhood because it would be inconvenient for the board members to go to the new place.

Welfare work and the organizations that carry it on have evolved out of day-by-day experience and localized need rather than out of a general plan or design with the whole community as the planning unit. This casual evolution, casual in the sense that it lacked unity of design, has been affected also by the fact that the auspices for social work have been varied. The municipality has undertaken some responsibilities in the field and the volunteer agencies many more. We are still uncertain as to whether there is a proper distinction between the two, and if there is, where the line should be drawn. Racial and religious groups have maintained their earliest traditions by providing services for their own. More lately, fraternal organizations, clubs, and other associated groups have established welfare work of varied types both as an expression of group idealism and as a means of achieving greater solidarity within the group through participation in a common effort of good purpose.

The past, then, has been a period when institutions and organizations were conceived and established under varied auspices to solve the many human problems that have emerged in the rapidly growing cities of the country. The time has come to integrate these efforts and to change the old order in the light of changing needs. This means community planning for social welfare. And who will say that it is not just as important to plan for the care of the sick and dependent and for the improvement of community life as it is to know where roads should be laid out, bridges built, and transportation lines established?

Now what is a "plan"? It is an arrangement of means or steps for the attainment of some object, a scheme or method, a design looking toward some desired end. What are the objectives of welfare planning? Opinions will differ on any statement of them, but I venture to suggest three: first, to provide the necessities of life for men, women, and children who are unable to provide properly for themselves because of physical or mental disease, old age, unemployment, the lack of responsible parents, or other disabilities. In addition to this, it is even more important to help them back to the road of independence and self-support, so far as possible. Second, to insure medical care through hospitals, clinics, doctors, and nurses for all who need it; to the poor free of charge, to those of limited means at a cost which they can meet. While we care for the sick we must bend every energy to prevent disease and illness by the elimination of industrial accidents and other health hazards, by the control of contagion, and by education in healthful habits of life. Third, to establish every helpful aid to normal and wholesome living amidst the crowded, hurried existence of the large city. This objective concerns, more or less, every class of society. It involves opportunities for recreation, summer outings, association with others through clubs, classes, and neighborhood organizations. The ideal to be sought is not simply material or utilitarian but a sense of the good and the beautiful as well.

The means for the attainment of these objectives are primarily the welfare and health agencies of the community—the family societies, the child caring organizations, the hospitals and clinics, the settlement houses, the recreation centers, the Scouts, the Young Men's Christian Association and others working shoulder to shoulder with the church, the school, and the organized governmental services. When I speak of a welfare agency, if it be a voluntary or privately operated one, I think of it as a group of citizens who act as sponsors and managers, and a trained staff who carry on its activities, and back of these two that portion of the general public which provides its financial support.

With known objectives and established means of attaining them, we come to the question of arrangement or adjustment. What scheme or design, of which each agency is a part, will secure a maximum of team play, tend to eliminate the fraudulent, equip the others to adjust or enlarge their services in the face of changing or enlarging needs? And how shall we establish some knowledge of the future trend of human problems so that prevention and cure may be planned for, at least, to some extent in advance? Here is a challenge to social statesmanship which is full of the most profound difficulties. If they are overcome the reward is measured only by the limits of human happiness.

We have much to learn before anyone can say with assurance what the elements of a proper community welfare plan are and how it may be arrived at and put into effect. If the experience of the city planning commissions, as well as that in our own field, is a sound guide, it requires laborious and extensive study, fact finding, and research. The first line of approach would seem to be as complete information as possible about what exists in the way of welfare and health services. A city plan begins with a charting of the city as it stands—the residential and industrial areas, the parks, playgrounds, highways, and transportation lines. It is only as we see the whole scene of the city in perspective that we observe its faults and inadequacies and begin to formulate judgments on ways of changing and improving. So it is with social welfare planning. Where are the social services located, what do they do, how do they function individually and in relation to each other, and what is the extent and quality of their service? This is not a picture to be obtained by tilting the shutter of a camera. To have meaning and significance the process is more like the labor of a meticulous artist in oils. It means the expenditure of time and money and must be shot through with imagination and understanding.

In New York City the Welfare Council, which is a council of social agencies, has established a research bureau with substantial subsidies over a period of years from the Rockefeller Foundation and the Commonwealth Fund. Among other studies we have undertaken an analysis of resources in the fields of health, settlement houses, and, for a limited area, boys' work. When these and other branches of social work are charted we shall know more about the necessary changes and adjustments which are essential to a satisfactory program.

But more is needed than simply an inventory of the stock on hand in terms of machinery and organization. It is important to know the total volume of persons served by those organizations. Here is a second line of approach—to find out how many dependent families, sick or aged persons, neglected children, etc., are being cared for. If such totals are kept from year to year, valuable comparisons may be made currently by the welfare agencies themselves so as to check the experience of one by that of the others, and trends can be established which may give some clues as to what may be expected in the future. The relation of social dependency to general business and industrial conditions is a question about which there has been endless speculation but not much reliable information. We have the beginnings of business indexes and some recent pioneering experience in social indexes such as that undertaken by Dr. Rubinow in New York City ten years ago, Mr. Hurlin's experiments in the reporting of family welfare statistics, and Mr. McMillen's work on volume and cost. When the social indices are firmly enough established and carried on over a sufficiently wide area, they may yield significant information when compared with the trends of business and industry.

The Welfare Council is experimenting in this line with seven central reporting systems to which the family service agencies (those caring for the aged, the homeless, and others) are sending in monthly data showing the character and volume of their current work. The first problem to be solved in any such plan is the old one of definition of terms, assuming, of course, that each agency keeps accurate records of its work, which is often a broad assumption. Any cooperative enterprise which improves record keeping and encourages a more precise definition of descriptive terms has values quite apart from its yield of information.

Of course, the total dependency of a community is not measured by the round number of all who are served by social agencies; many never come to the attention of such organizations. For example, in New York we know how many aged dependent persons are cared for in institutions and in their homes through subsidy from agencies, but we do not know how many more aged dependent persons there are who somehow get along in various ways with the aid of relatives or friends or other assistance. In passing upon the question of state old age pensions it would be valuable to have complete data. This suggests a third line of approach to welfare planning, namely, some estimate of the total number of persons in the community who need care or assistance of varied types. Such data is peculiarly difficult to get because it involves something in the nature of a block census for the city which is time consuming and expensive. However, if a community seeks to discharge its full obligation to those who are unable to provide properly for themselves, it must know the nature and full extent of that obligation before it can arrange its resources to discharge it.

A fourth approach to a community plan is partly comprehended by what has been said thus far but suggests a somewhat different emphasis. I have spoken of studies of fields of work such as health, settlement, and boys' work. This means analyzing the organizations doing such work. There is another kind of inquiry that studies a community problem which is common to the work of agencies in different fields, such, for example, as crime or delinquency, which is the subject of investigation by city, state, and national crime commissions in many parts of the country. Who are the delinquent, what is the nature of delinquency, what are its causes, what is the character and effectiveness of the service provided by school, church, and social agency in the treatment and prevention of the problem? The reports of the New York

State Crime Commission are a significant contribution to this subject.

The Welfare Council is seeking information on the care of the chronic sick, who seem to fall between the jurisdiction of the present organized services. Hospitals, family service agencies, public health nurses, medical social workers, and convalescent homes all find themselves either unable or inadequately equipped to provide for the chronic sick. Different types of service are needed for them and frequently a combination of agencies is called upon to help. The problem, then, is to study the experience of the patient in his effort to get care, to know something of the different types of chronic illness and the special facilities needed by each type, the extent to which different services, such as family agencies, public health nurses, and institutions, work together effectively when they are called upon to minister to the same patient. Ultimately, it will be necessary to match the total needs for facilities of this type against the total resources available.

This discussion of the study of problems suggests, by way of illustration, another inquiry that is being undertaken by the Welfare Council, namely, our tabulation and analysis of the income and expenditure of all the welfare and health agencies over a period of sixteen years. When income is classified into earnings, endowment, and current contributions from the public, we learn some interesting things about our problem of money raising and the extent to which our social work is self-supporting through payments by clients for services. Dr. King's study of New Haven shows these trends in a suggestive way. On the expenditure side we shall be able to make interesting comparisons between the amounts spent by the city and by the private agencies and to observe the relative increase or decrease over a period of years. The same comparisons can be made between different fields of service and the relative emphasis laid upon them by the community, at least in terms of dollars. When our prospective study of community chest financing is launched, the data at hand on income and expenditure will be illuminating.

The foregoing is naturally not offered as an exhaustive statement of the methods of securing the factual basis for community planning in social welfare. There are other methods, of course. The intensive case studies of clients made by or on behalf of individual agencies yield a wealth of information of real value in the broader type of inquiries. The general community survey which deals with so many aspects of the life of a community in their bearing on the social problem has proved its usefulness in many places, although its value may be questioned for a very large city because of the size of the task when attempted in its entirety; although as Dr. Deardorff pointed out in her paper at this Conference last year, the Jewish Communal Survey in New York, undertaken by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, is of this nature but is limited to the Jewish population.

I have said that our planning involves such an arrangement of our welfare resources as will enable us as a community to discharge our full obligation to those who are dependent in some way or in need of opportunities for a richer life. The proper arrangement in turn involves an analysis of those resources of our social problems in order to weed out, build up, adjust, and integrate our varied services in the light of our findings. More than this, we desire to set out our stakes for future development as needs vary or increase. A council of social agencies affords excellent auspices for such research work if and when it is properly financed to do it, and if the council is fairly representative of the whole group of agencies in the community, or a considerable number of them. Their active participation in the preparation and execution of a study will insure general approval of its conclusions. This leads me to my final point, which is the very important one of putting a social welfare plan into action.

The "Regional Plan for New York City and Its Environs" includes 400 cities and towns within its area of study. A city plan dealing so largely in tangible, physical factors is usually more comprehensive and complete than we are likely to achieve in any community in the field of social service for many years to come. Our progress will be of necessity slower and more fragmentary.

Nevertheless, there are analogies which may prove of benefit to us. These 400 communities must achieve some substantial measure of agreement if the regional plan is to be effective. It is predicated upon the belief that while each town retains its independence in matters concerning its internal growth, there are certain common factors of development to which all should conform if each is to have its fullest measure of health, convenience, and well-being. The assertion by one town of utter independence of its neighbors would lead to serious inconvenience to the citizens and the loss of many advantages and opportunities of material and spiritual value as well. Highways, parks, bridges, trains serve individual and common ends, and they serve them better when there is team play in their organization and establishment. In other words, to state a familiar principle as to some things, the promotion of the common good is in the interest of every individual.

And so it is with welfare agencies. A plan for the promotion of social progress must receive their approval to become operative. But its acceptance involves some give and take among them, a willingness to adjust or change in conformity with what appears to be for the general interest. It is reasonable to think that the result in the long run will benefit the individual agency as well as the community as a whole.

The way in which social agencies have developed, as previously pointed out, has tended to emphasize their individuality and separateness. The loyalty of board and staff is naturally and properly directed to the piece of work to which they are committed and to which frequently they have devoted their lives. Why should they be unduly concerned about other organizations and other fields of service? They have their hands full with the task before them. It may sometimes be true that the immediate needs of a social agency or group of agencies under the auspices of a religious denomination may seem to run counter to what appears to be the best general plan for the community as a whole. Or again, some club or association carrying on welfare work as one of its activities may feel that its purposes will best be served by emphasizing its independent character than by playing into a wider scheme.

A council of social agencies is a voluntary association of its members; it has no power to compel. But through its various committees and sections it has the means of bringing people together in regular organized contact and exposing one to the views and practices of the other. The only pressure it can exert is that of persuasion within the group. But this pressure is none the less real and powerful for being based upon discussion and argument with the ultimate appeal to reason alone. When the appeal is based upon facts and conclusions objectively arrived at, we have the true democratic method in operation and it has not been without satisfactory achievement.

Our problem, therefore, is to build upon the loyalty of people to individual organizations, a further loyalty and concern with the community's welfare program in its larger aspects. This means primarily more consideration for the relation which each society bears to others in its field and the evaluation of its service in the light of the total resources of the community. As someone has put it we must develop a sense of community-mindedness.

The situation is not one of the separate agency versus the group but the separate agency as a part of the group with a stake in the welfare of the group. We have only begun to realize the possibilities of integrating varied racial and religious aspirations with projects of common concern, and further success in this effort depends upon a sharp discrimination between those things which are of primary concern to the individual organization alone and those things which are legitimately matters for concerted action in which all may properly be invited to participate. Does this mean a deadly uniformity? I quote from a distinguished Catholic priest, the head of the Catholic Charities in New York, Reverend Robert F. Keegan:

> Can we sink all our differences? I hope not. The era of uniformity means the triumph of mediocrity. In our situation, however, I think we can be united by our differences. Through the application of democratic principles in the common meeting of the Welfare Council we can resolve our problems to the least common denominator—the general social welfare of our city.

The social welfare program of any city is not the mere sum total of the activities of all of its welfare agencies. So long as each agency acts independently of others, the adding together of all that is being done as evidence of a community program would be like mixing sand and water in an attempt to produce cement. What is needed in welfare planning as in city planning generally is an orderly adjustment of the existing social services to each other and to the total resources of the city, a vision of unmet needs, present and future, with a wise program for meeting them, arriving at after study and widespread consultation, a concerted attack upon fundamental causes of poverty, sickness, and other forms of human suffering; in brief, the mobilization of brains, experience, and facts for continuous improvement of social conditions through the voluntary, cooperative effort of the socially minded citizens of the city.

We are no longer justified in treating our social welfare program as something which will somehow work itself out, if each of us does his own job well. It is the interplay of forces that gives direction and purpose to human effort, and so we need to deal deliberately with our social problems, alter the tools of our welfare mechanism from time to time as needs and conditions change, and substitute plan and conscious intention for undirected growth and undisciplined development.

DEVELOPING SOCIAL PROGRAMS IN A LOCAL COMMUNITY

Charles C. Stillman, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus

IN A course in theism in my undergraduate days, we had an argument about chance. Granted all the Greek letters, rough breathings, accents, punctuation marks, and so forth, there are in Homer's *Iliad*, and the ability to throw them out as dice are thrown from a shaker, would any throw ever result in the *Iliad* as the blind bard conceived it?

"There are in the convoluted part of our forebrain (the cerebral cortex) five or six times as many nerve cells as there are human beings in the world, and the complexity of interrelations is past all telling."[1]

We once analyzed, in a city where I was supervising some social service studies, the programs of all social work agencies, public and voluntary. We undertook to isolate items of service rendered, differentiating as best we could. We found eighty-two activities, defining "activities" as corporations, groups, departments, or bureaus organized for declared performance in the field of social work. We found 142 items of service, each one different in fact and effect from any other. It may be added that the personalities manning and womaning these many services were not altogether devoid of individuality, and possessed to a noticeable degree that interesting quality, state, or condition denominated by easy-going thinkers as human nature. These various pieces of living matter, each walking erect and owning and using a good voice, presented a complexity of interrelations giving evidence of the existence of unique cerebral convolutions with an orthodox number of nerve cells knowing nor calm nor rest, nor night nor day.

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[1] *Outline of Science*, II, 542–43; Thomson, editor.

All this concerned a city of less than 150,000 population. Thus, the social work *mélange* in the larger American cities need not hide its head in shame when compared with the proverbial Chinese puzzle. For spice, interest, and excitement, it makes a Mexican revolution look like an amount of money that represents the exact sum of twenty cents and ten cents.

Now, suppose a social work prestidigitator could place all the activities, items of service, and personalities into a dicebox and throw—what would be the chance of securing a satisfactory combination, or how many times would he have to throw in order to secure harmony and efficiency in the pattern? As I recall it, the record of the argument about the *Iliad* was not enriched with a statement of the answer thereto. So my analogy, as all analogies inevitably do, fails at the critical point. One need not pose as a cynic, however, to drop the passing statement that here and there is an American city whose social problems appear to have been solved (God save the mark!) by an unholy alliance of legerdemain and gambling. We need less shuffling and more selection.

Any card player recognizes the existence and influence of luck. He knows also that fortuity is no match for skill. Social work activities are not cards to be shuffled and dealt in a game with Mistress Luck. They are the raw material (very raw, sometimes) for a community building program. And skill is essential.

Two factors may be noted: first, the source of the skill; second, the application of the skill. Stated otherwise, this means the shaping of programs and their accomplishment, a formula and a method. Stated in the language of Walter W. Pettit,[2] ". . . . The worker in addition to understanding how to organize, shall be efficient also in the field of the service required."

First, about the font of wisdom, the reservoir of ideas. Wisdom may lie in the multitude. "In the multitude of counselors there is wisdom." That bit of ancient lore has its counterpart in the proverb: *Vox populi, vox dei.*

During a period of reorganization of social agencies, a study being made by a group of representative citizens, the question arose about the propriety of including, in a community fund, organizations outside the field of "charity" as loosely conceived. The suggestion was seriously made that a referendum to voters, to be taken in the approaching municipal election, determine membership in the community fund. A few able people approved the idea, but the procedure was not followed. Faith in democracy need not predicate approval of any such heinous course. *Vox populi, vox dei* is one of the most iniquitous fallacies ever promulgated by his satanic majesty. The voice of the people is not the voice of God, unless the spirit of God be in the people. Considered as might, God may be on the side of the largest armies; considered as right, minority opinion is entitled to appraisal. Walter Burr said at Denver: "Social workers are usually the worst sort of benevolent tyrants."[3] That is the obverse. The reverse indicates that, being at home in their own fields, they feel justified in asseverating their convictions. Psychology and experience warrant the offering that the crowd follows rather than initiates.

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[2] *Proceedings National Council of Social Work* (1925), p. 682.

Does, then, the needed wisdom for social planning reside in social workers? It is merely a trip to Newcastle with only coal for luggage to say that social work is highly specialized. Look at the twelve divisions of the National Conference of Social Work: Children, Delinquents and Correction, Health, The Family, Industrial and Economic Problems, Neighborhood and Community Life, Mental Hygiene, Organization of Social Forces, Public Officials and Administration, The Immigrant, Professional Standards and Education, Educational Publicity. Look, also, at the refinement under these divisions in their respective programs. Consider, also, the list of kindred groups and their agenda. "It's a cry for help. . . . ."

"There are 513 private and public social agencies in Philadelphia."[4] "Two hundred and eighty national health and welfare organizations have their headquarters in New York City."[5]

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

[4] *Survey*, April 15, 1929, p. 110.

[5] *Ibid.*, advertisement of the New York School of Social Work.

In Boston there are 430 "private charitable corporations for all ages."[6]

The *Survey* for April 15, 1929, contains a most ingenious and comprehensive drawing by Helen P. Phelps. The material was given by Edwin L. Clarke with the assistance of Joanna C. Colcord and Cecil C. North. The drawing is entitled "Chief Fields of Social Work." The concurrence of line with fact is evident. A look at the picture makes one dizzy. It shows some eight main fields. Social workers are busy with ropes, ladders, saws, microscopes, and other suggestive paraphernalia. Almost uncountable services are indicated. It is a graphic picture of thoroughness, extent, complexity, and interrelation. Every social worker ought to take a squint at it.

Take the field of social case work. Kathleen Ormsby Larkin, secretary of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, states:

> Such a book as this one [*The Social Worker in Family, Medical and Psychiatric Social Work*, by Odencrantz] sets one thinking about specialization versus unification. Specialization adds to the content of social case work in general. But there are undoubtedly symptoms of a greater desire among case workers in the specialized fields to come together and keep together for purposes of development.[7]

The first tendency of specialization is disintegration. After it has run rampant for a time, there becomes manifest the hunger for association which Mrs. Larkin, in my judgment, rightly so diagnoses.

Dr. M. L. Harris, president of the American Medical Association, said in 1928:

> Specialization in medicine, we think, is greatly overdone. This is perhaps largely the fault of the people who seem to be obsessed with the idea that there must be a specialist for every human ill. What the people need more than anything else are more general practitioners, men with a knowledge of general medicine, men who become intimately acquainted with the lives and habits of their patients and who may be able to care for the great majority of their ailments since it is only a minority of these that require the attention of the specialist.[8]

[6] Thomas and Thomas, *The Child in America*, p. 166.

[7] *Compass*, April, 1929, p. 2.

[8] Grand Rapids, Michigan, *Herald*, October 24, 1928.

Are social workers, as specialists, in a frame of mind to furnish the skill and wisdom needed for developing a coordinated program? Does coordination depend on the inevitable reversion to general emphases, in line with the hankerings discerned by Mrs. Larkin, and the need avowed by Dr. Harris?

Specialists often show a tendency to the ego complex as distinguished from the herd complex. This is especially apparent, so at least it seems to me, in the early developmental stages of a specialty. The social work specialist has gotten hold of an idea and he is going to squeeze it dry. The words of Agnes Repplier in the April, 1929, *Atlantic* (p. 471) apply, though partially only: "Men have always turned from the ascertained, which is limited and discouraging, to the dubious, which is unlimited and full of hope for everybody."

Who would think of trying to fashion social programs without the contribution of wealth in theory and experience accrued to those who have labored with perplexing problems in specialized fields? Nobody.

Harry Emerson Fosdick recently wrote:

> Cecil Rhodes said that he thought the British "the greatest people the world has ever seen." Voltaire prophesied: "Some day, to be approved of others, it shall suffice for one to say: This was the taste of the French; it is thus that this illustrious nation thought." Wrote Professor Lasson, of Berlin: "We are morally and intellectually superior to all, without peers. It is the same with our organizations and our institutions." Said a great American diplomat, my personal friend: "God has yet made nothing or nobody equal to the American people; and I don't think He ever will or can."[9]

Much seems to depend on intimacy of association. The fact is that social workers look to other professions and to business for help in formulating programs. They ought to. The solution of the social problem depends upon the harmonizing of viewpoints —this statement itself being one of the viewpoints: "All generalizations are false, including this one."

An amusing incident occurred in my office a few weeks ago. A college-educated man, on parole from a state hospital for the insane, visits the office about once a month, makes a statement or

[9] *American*, May, 1929, p. 92.

two in a minute or two, bows, and withdraws. On this occasion, he said, "Mr. Stillman, agency So-and-So is doing a type of work quite similar to that of agency Such-and-Such. (He named the agencies.) It occurred to me that if these two got together and used Miss X as executive for both, you would do better work and save money." Just the day before, our associate secretary and I were discussing seriously that very idea. I said to her, "Either our friend is sane, or we are crazy."

I am not recommending, as a bit of technique for hunting wisdom, that we resort to the mentally sick. Enough "crazy" ideas emanate from some whose I.Q.'s carry a respectable rating and who are supposed to exemplify the slogan, *Mens sana in corpore sano.*

A big corporation manager consented to serve as director of the Grand Rapids Welfare Union (Community Chest), provided

> there is a reorganization by which the affairs of the Union will be put into the hands of a committee of three or five, each of whom is a responsible business man completely dissociated from any member agency. This committee will serve without pay, will have control of the operations of the Union, and will have power to enforce its findings upon the member agencies. It will study the operating behavior of each member agency, recommend and effect combinations of agencies, eliminate unnecessary personnel (high-salaried executives in particular), and reduce overhead generally, all without curtailing the efficiency of any agency's service.

We sincerely wanted that man, but we did not get him. His conditions were impossible, of course. Yet he has much to offer to social workers who seek wisdom in improving their art, though offering nothing for their science. When such men control social work machinery, disaster is certain. When such men are eliminated from the picture, social work misses an effective, though irritating, prod. "I don't want to know that man, for I hate him. And if I know him, I'll like him."

Wisdom lurks in unexpected places. As we develop local programs, we shall be developing our own attitudes. Mass meetings will not organize local programs. Neither will highly wrought specialists in social work. Neither will this or that viewpointer, and surely not the captain of industry. All these will furnish ideas, however.

Leaders are expected to have wisdom. All would be well if we could say they are leaders because they have wisdom. Many a situation is dominated by a compelling personality. If the compelling personality were always right, it would not be so bad; but when he is wrong, then there is the devil to pay. In my experience, even compelling personalities are smeared all over with human nature.

In developing social programs, the real leader is one who himself is fortified with social work experience and information, and who is blessed with an open mind, an inquiring disposition, and the power of sympathetic appraisal of alien opinion.

The doubtful virtue of diplomacy is often mistaken for wisdom, as we are here discussing it. You can always tell a diplomat, but not what you would like to. He hasn't the sense to resent it. Diplomacy has won many apparent victories that are essential defeats. It has also won many real victories. It is an art to be practiced, but it is no substitute for wisdom. An uninformed diplomat is a menace to progress. I nod to diplomacy: I bow to leadership. The leader will seek advice and take it, sought and unsought, from diverse sources. He will set out to get action.

Second, what method shall he pursue? There is the browbeating method. Take it or leave it. This is right. Why doubt it? Didn't you hear us say so? An ultimatum is the frequent tool of the implastic mind, and the last resort of the conscientious. To class such subterfuge as "method" is to pall the term. Sometimes, progress requires that it be invoked, most times, that it be ditched. It is the official precursor of war.

There is the functional group method. Overlapping is not an unmixed evil. Insulated social service cannot exist. It would be anomalous. To secure harmony at large, those organizations whose activities naturally mesh should effect working agreements. The crux of the matter of developing social programs lies right here where interests clash because of vague boundaries. In my judgment, it is not resultful to spend too much time in discussing a local program as a unit, until there be at least partial composition of differences among frequently contacting groups. The specialists properly flourish here. They must get together in their interlocking fields of effort. The spirit of harmony, developing from insistence and compromise, in closely related groups, is precedent to the fashioning of the community's social work agencies into a tractable bundle of altruistic service. If the hospitals of a community are in competition (and this condition is said to be not unknown), larger considerations of health organization will be less soluble thereby. If the child welfare agencies lack concert, dissonance is bound to appear in the community orchestra.

Does this then rule out the method of general conference such as a Council of Social Agencies affords, until we reach the Utopia of "peace, perfect peace" among the more closely related groups? That would be silly. A council affords invaluable opportunities for education and the culture of appreciation. I do mean, however, that social work organization, viewed as a community matter, will be greatly accelerated, and to considerable degree will be conditioned by working agreements of specialists in closely allied endeavors. Habitually a council works through functional committees. Emphasis of this method is wise and should be heavy. A council enriched with the holders of assorted ideas is the kind of a council that social workers desire. Directors of our agencies would seem logically to be useful council members. Homer Folks states:

> Eighteen thousand of the picked citizenry of New York City are members of the Boards of Welfare agencies; who can measure the influence of such a group if enthused with a common purpose and enabled to act with a common understanding, at a given time?[10]

When our social work directors become synergetically aroused, social work will come into its own.

Should the method of developing a social work program involve an organization which reaches into all phases of quasisocial work? Dr. Jesse F. Steiner identifies two fields of the community movement: "The correlation of social agencies at work within the community, and the development of programs designed to promote community solidarity by building up activities in which all the people may participate."[11] All will agree, no doubt, that the process of correlating social agencies is of real influence in promoting community solidarity. I record my own opinion that all-inclusive community councils, composed of representatives of all known noonday clubs, and other variegations, will function to a negligible degree as the actual machinery for developing local social work programs. The statement is not in conflict with the inferences of the first part of this paper that wisdom lurks in unexpected places. "It is fashionable to sneer at talk; talk is foolish but also wise," says Theodore Soares, of the University of Chicago. The utilization of words is a pleasant pastime freely indulged in, and not without salutariness. Unnatural alliances, however, harbor the germ of dissolution.[12] As concerns the process of coordinating social work, there are sufficient diversities among the organizations involved, so that enhancement of difficulties needs no encouragement. In the search for representative opinion, we need not carry the idea *ad absurdum.*

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[10] *Supplement to the Bulletin of the Welfare Council* (New York City), May, 1929.

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[11] *Survey*, April 15, 1929, p. 131.

[12] Cf. L. P. Jacks, *Constructive Citizenship*, p. 269.

HOW CAN WE VITALIZE THE RELATIONSHIP OF OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOCIAL WORK?

Ida M. Cannon, Chief of Social Service, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston

What public education was to the last half of the last century, in the development of the democratic ideal, public welfare may well be to the first half of this century. Indeed, it seems very probable that progress in the field of public welfare will constitute the outstanding contribution of the half century toward progress in American Democracy.

SO SAYS Professor Howard Odum in the volume, *Systems of Public Welfare*, which he edited. This is a challenge to social workers. He goes on to say, "the old 'charities and corrections' have been transcended by the newer reasonable, democratic, constructive and preventive, as well as remedial service to all the people within the state's domain:—the obligation to make good in these newer steps of progress rests alike upon formal government and civil community; upon public officials and public service departments; and upon private volunteer agencies and social workers."

The yearly published *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work serve as an indication of the trends of social work, and the developing aims and purposes of the great body of professional social workers.

The first two decades of the Conference—then the National Conference of Charities and Correction—were concerned largely with discussion of major civic and state problems, and the establishment and management of adequate public institutions for care for the insane, the feebleminded, the criminal, and the destitute. The names of some of our greatest pioneers, men and women who blazed the trail of our country's humanitarian endeavors, are found frequently in the pages of these earlier volumes.

Serious as were the problems that confronted the pioneer in social service as represented by early members of the Conference, our rapidly growing country with all its complexity of industrial urban life developed complexity of social problems unknown before. They came so suddenly upon us that we have needed all the interest and energies of public-spirited men and women, official and unofficial, to devise means and sustain agencies to cope with the situation. The establishment of the profession of social work has been one of the most important results of the recognized need of skill to cope with the problems which have developed.

Turning again to the *Proceedings* of the Conferences, it is possible to trace a marked shift from the discussions of public institutions of thirty years ago to those of a greater variety of community agencies and organized movements privately initiated and supported. We can note a readiness to experiment in methods of solutions, insistent demands for study, understanding, and constructive service to the individual, not as opposed to the group; but the focus has been on the individual and his difficulties. Specialization has been in the ascendant. There seems to have been a recession of interest in general state and municipal welfare activities and an assumption of the greater importance of non-public agencies for social welfare.

But a new spirit has shown itself in recent years. Our war experience brought significant changes in the relation of our official and unofficial, our public and our privately supported social service. The Red Cross Home Service and Hospital Social Service, officially recognized, but managed and supported by a generous public, staged a comprehensive program for correlation of public and private service to our soldiers and sailors and their families, not alone in the great cities, but in our small towns and rural districts. To the Red Cross we owe much of our growing interest in rural sociology, and the realization of an urgent need for rural social work. We have been checked in our intensification of specialization in social work in cities and are beginning to talk of "undifferentiated" or "generalized case work" for application to rural problems.

The correlation of the Red Cross service with the government in the interest of our soldiers and sailors was successful because there was an identification of interest, a focus on the urgent needs to be met. This correlation has inevitably been reduced since the demobilization of our army, although the hospitals still retain active social service. But the demonstration has been made, and we are confident that in times of disaster the Red Cross will quickly swing into effective cooperation with the official authorities in the stricken locality.

Another experience of the war years was the sharp falling off of contributions to private charities. The public agencies established by statute, officially assumed by the taxpayers, were the stable vehicles for carrying our burdens of social service. Agencies dependent on current volunteer donations were shaken from their sense of security. Community chests came into being. In the struggle for existence, all sorts of commercialized methods of advertising publicity were grasped for "selling our ideas" and our jobs until one sometimes questioned whether after all we were not tradesmen struggling for existence, rather than worthy of professional status.

We Americans are very susceptible to the influences of words, slogans, and phrases. We grasp a new word that bears contemporary significance and overwork it until it is so worn out that it can carry us no farther. The good word cooperation may be such a word. But there is a newer word with more vitality for us—it is integration. The psychoanalysts who have so eagerly picked to pieces our personalities have realized that, for constructive results of the analysis, an integration of the personality must be accomplished. The idea of integration is dominant in modern psychology.

Miss Mary Follett, in her challenging book on *Creative Experience*, urges us to a deeper conception of the integrating process in application to our sociological affairs. She claims that "progressive integratings of men are the substance of Democracy." Integration implies a balance in the cooperation and a modification of each by the other through the process so that the total result is something more than the sum of the two. The doctrine of "integrating interests" which Miss Follett presents has a peculiar application to this question of the relationship of private and public social welfare. It is the process of integrating our interests that we must master.

The difficulty of discussing this subject from a national point of view is great. To be helpful any suggestions must be applicable to local situations. We have forty-eight kinds of experiments in state public welfare programs going on in these United States, and a multitudinous variety of social welfare activities under private auspices. They offer a small percentage of consistency in scope and program. There is a distinct value, at this stage in our country's growth, in the variation in our programs. There is a danger that in our struggle for simplification we may see a false escape through uniformity when uniformity is not the part of wisdom in so complex a situation.

In the older states, where endowments as well as personal interest and traditions have given a security to some of our social agencies, there are difficulties that are not always evident to those who make comment that they are "well supplied" with agencies. The situation in an old state like Massachusetts, where there is an investment of $150,000,000 in 11,000 social agencies privately supported, is quite different from that in younger states. The progressive western states have been more ready to express their social responsibility in institutions and social welfare agencies maintained directly by taxation.

With these widely differing backgrounds, traditions, and attitudes, how can we meet for discussion of relationships of public and private social agencies? This National Conference of Social Work in its program year after year is evidence of our finding common ground on which the widely distributed social workers can meet to mutual advantage. The welfare and hazards of childhood and of family life, industry with its essential necessity for securing and paying the costs of that security in terms of industrial welfare for the employed, safeguarding of recreational and community life, mental disease, tuberculosis, and other chronic diseases—these problems vary in degree in our country but no state is without them.

In what is surely a friendly and sympathetic discussion of social work, Miss Sydnor Walker, in her recently published book, *Social Work and the Training of Social Workers,* throws out many challenges. Among them is her comment that social workers do not think in terms of statesmanship on the social problems with which they are struggling. An evidence of this lack of statesmanship is our tendency to be "agency minded" and provincial. Our focus has been on the individual situation. We have theoretically accepted the fact that causes must be recognized and tackled if we are to show any measure of worthy accomplishments, but our methods are still pretty crude.

There have been many admirable instances of integration of interests and effort, both public and private, in the field of public health. The antituberculosis campaign is one instance of this. Initiated through private effort, largely through the energy of social workers, by the way, the program included service to patients, an educational campaign, the enlistment of public health officials, enactment of necessary legislation, and finally the establishment of the provision for meeting the situation. While many of our public welfare projects are not so clearly and inclusively problems for public support, the integration of interests and clear focus on the needs to be met offer a parallel from which we can learn something of method. And we have, of course, a number of instances of integration in the social field. Such clarity of focus has been maintained by the Judge Baker Foundation, which through an intelligent integration with the Juvenile Court of Boston has rendered extraordinarily fine personal service to the children of that court. The social service departments in many of our city and state hospitals are examples of correlation of public and private funds and interest.

The ideal integration of interests of public and private social welfare activities of a city or state would require the conscious aims of all social agencies, both public and private. This seems at the moment unobtainable, but let us consider what could help to bring it about. First of all there would have to be on the part of private agencies a realization that they are not private in the usual use of that term. A private charity is a public trust. The obligations of incorporation are tangible evidences of this. But further than this we ought to have in the charters of our private charities less rigidity in terms of the need as at the time of establishment. Those who are responsible for creation of new private agencies should be encouraged to realize that the need may be outgrown as years go by. The rigidity of interpretation of public service may be much more amenable to change than the legal restrictions of privately endowed trusts.

One might wish that such self-questionings as the following might occur before a new social agency was established: Is this problem we have in mind one of concern to the whole community? Is a demonstration really needed or might a little slower process provide suitable facilities under public control? I have in mind the experience of one community that wanted school nursing for its children. Money was offered to establish the service under a private visiting nursing association. Some farsighted citizens felt that so obvious a service to the schools should be under the public auspices, although at the time the public budget could not meet the need. So a donor was persuaded to offer private funds to the city for a demonstration period. This act of faith and the good work of the nurse brought about eventually the establishment of school nursing under public auspices.

Again we might ask, has this program of ours any parallel in the public welfare of our city or state? Let us take a children's agency for foster home placement. Would not our public servants caring for wards of our city or state be greatly heartened if the directors of a child welfare agency under private auspices felt it an obligation to be well informed concerning the child problems of the city and state with their much bigger loads, their more difficult burdens, and whether the private agency with its smaller load and easier burden were always giving support to the best possible service to the public wards? A genuine interest in children would seem to warrant no less.

Some of our state welfare departments have unpaid advisory boards that support the efforts of the public servants and encourage public backing when questions of appropriation of funds are at issue. It would be an excellent thing to have some directors of private agencies also on the state board, and suitable to have some state officials on the private agency boards. In our enthusiasm for our pet charities we often forget the load that our public agencies are carrying. We need better statesmanship in our private agencies as well as our public agencies. Our programs should be periodically tested for their social worth, but our methods of testing have not yet been evolved.

The increase of community chests and councils since the war has been as everyone knows a social phenomenon. I wish I could put councils first and chests second, for councils seem to me to be immensely more important for our social welfare. Support for private agencies is important, but can anyone fail to regret the dominance of the financial interests over the functional interest of the councils of social work wherever organization of social welfare agencies, both public and private, exists? The greatest service of the community organization group—and the wisest of them see this—is to think in inclusive terms and with a wide scope of the cities' needs, to welcome diversity of function and of opinion, so to integrate the various interests without repression of the vitality and initiative and diversity that one loses the agency-mindedness in a bigger conception of the place of our individual efforts in the whole social program.

We forget too often that the public agencies are ours. If we are critical of the standards of public service, it is for us to see that they are raised—a slow process and one needing constant vigilance. Could not the schools of social work foster such relationships with public welfare agencies that every student should have a period of experience on the inside of a public welfare agency? Such a requirement might be the most vitalizing influence we could bring to our public welfare of which Professor Odum speaks.

May I summarize the special points I wish to make? The discussion of relationships must premise a clear conception of the functions of the agencies under discussion. Such understanding cannot come easily. It requires a knowledge of the purposes, special scope of activities, the difficulties, and the ideals of the agencies, public or private. The social worker engaged in any private agency representing a special field of work, children's, family, educational, medical, or recreational, should inform himself concerning the corresponding service under public auspices, and the social worker in public service should be equally informed concerning the corresponding private agencies.

There should be focus on the *needs* to be met, not on the agency and its prerogatives. We need to learn to think in terms of relationship, which is less tangible than agency or institution but essential for the integration of our purposes and efforts. The idea of integration of our purposes and our efforts of public and private service to any special need should attend the christening of all new private agencies. And periodically these relationships should be reviewed. Just as we are coming to see that our country cannot live unto itself alone, no more can a social agency live unto itself alone and retain vitality in our rapidly changing and interdependent social life.

SOME STATISTICAL COMPARISONS OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FAMILY SOCIAL WORK

A. W. McMillen, Director, Registration of Social Statistics, University of Chicago, Chicago

THE subject of this discussion—How far should public social work be expanded?—implies at least three a priori assumptions: first, that public work definitely should be expanded rather than diminished; second, that public social service is not at present as extensive as it could be; and, third, that it is possible either to determine definitely, or at least to hazard an opinion, as to where the line should be drawn beyond which public work should not go.

With the first of these assumptions, few would disagree. Social workers in all parts of the country, if one can judge by the pressure they exert upon tax-disbursing bodies, are intent upon more liberal provision by the state for social welfare. The second assumption also appears to be generally conceded. In almost every community activities can be discovered which, in the opinion of the local social workers, have passed the experimental stage and should be added to the growing roster of services which the modern state is expected to provide for its citizens.

The third assumption is the one concerning which opinions differ. Can a clear cut line be drawn between the social work activities that should be performed by the state and those that should be carried on by private agencies? Are there types of work which government is incapable of performing? Must private agencies carry permanently the burdens they have voluntarily assumed, or may they look forward to a day when they can resign their present tasks to a capable public bureau and transfer their energies to the exploration of new fields? These are some of the questions upon which general agreement must be reached before social workers can make orderly progress toward an objective.

Perhaps before attempting to predict how far government activity should be expanded it might be well to gain some idea of the extent to which it is already endeavoring to meet current needs. To do this in a comprehensive way would transcend the limits not only of this paper but of a volume. Hence no effort will be made to do more than point out a few of the straws in the wind.

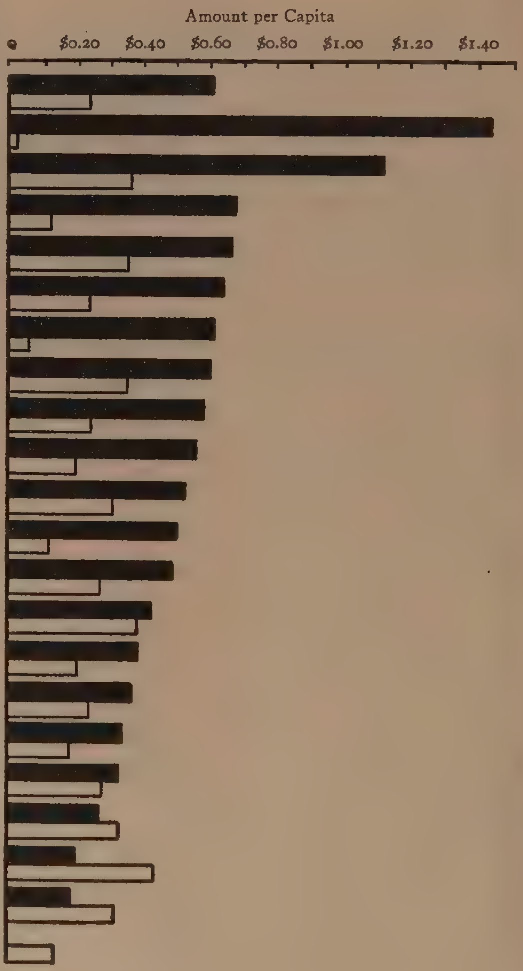
The figures presented here are from the field of family welfare and are, within limits, typical of the situation in other divisions of social welfare activity. These data make no claim to comprehensiveness. They do not represent all the work done in any state or even in any county. They are tabulations based upon monthly reports collected during 1928 from all family welfare agencies, both public and private, in twenty-nine metropolitan areas of this country. They are the result of an effort made by a Joint Committee of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago to determine whether the establishment of a permanent bureau for the registration of social statistics is a needed and a manageable development.

Chart I shows the amount of relief per capita population given by public and private agencies. For the twenty-one cities that submitted complete figures during 1928, the amount of relief given by public agencies was $0.61 and by private agencies $0.24 per capita population. Detroit shows the largest per capita disbursement from public funds—$1.44—and the smallest from private—$0.02. Only four cities of the entire group show a larger expenditure from private than from public sources—New Orleans, where the entire disbursement for relief of only $0.15 per capita population comes from private societies, and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Springfield, Ohio, and St. Louis, where the expenditures from public sources exceed the expenditures of the voluntary societies. Among the large cities St. Louis and Cleveland are the only ones in which the expenditures per capita population of the private agencies approach or surpass those of the

CHART I

Amount of Relief per Capita Population Given by Public Departments and by Private Agencies for Family Welfare and Relief during the Year 1928

	Amount per Capita Given By	
	Public Departments	Private Agencies
ALL CITIES	$0.61	$0.24
Detroit	1.44	0.02
St. Paul	1.12	0.37
Springfield, Ill.	0.68	0.12
Des Moines	0.67	0.36
Reading	0.64	0.24
Grand Rapids	0.62	0.06
Cincinnati	0.61	0.36
Minneapolis	0.59	0.25
Wichita	0.56	0.20
Chicago	0.53	0.31
Columbus	0.50	0.12
Sioux City	0.49	0.27
Dayton	0.43	0.39
Sharon	0.39	0.21
Akron	0.37	0.24
Omaha	0.34	0.18
Cleveland	0.33	0.28
Lancaster	0.27	0.33
Springfield, O.	0.20	0.44
St. Louis	0.19	0.32
New Orleans	0	0.15



public departments. The figures for Cleveland are $0.28 for the private groups and $0.33 for the public, and for St. Louis $0.19 for the tax-supported agencies and $0.32 for the private societies. By adding together the two figures for any city, the total per capita expenditure is obtained. Thus St. Paul with a total disbursement of $1.49 from all sources heads the list, outstripping Detroit by $0.03 per capita, while New Orleans still remains at the foot of the list.

CHART II

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RELIEF GIVEN BY PUBLIC DEPARTMENTS AND BY PRIVATE AGENCIES FOR FAMILY WELFARE AND RELIEF DURING 1928

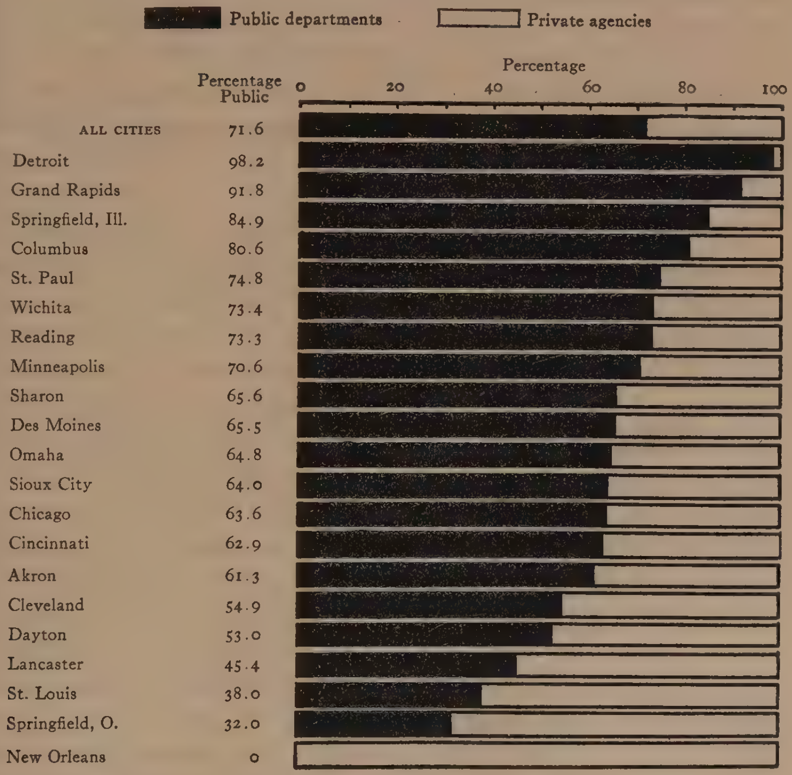


Chart II shows the percentage of total relief in each city that is given by public and private agencies, respectively. Each bar represents 100 per cent of the relief in the city to which it relates; the solid portion of the bar represents the percentage of relief from public sources, and the hollow bars the percentage from all private agencies in the city combined. Taking the entire group of cities as a unit, we find that 71.6 per cent, or nearly three-quarters of all relief, came in 1928 from the public treasury. The bars are arranged in the order of importance of the public relief. Detroit heads the list with 98.2 per cent. In all except four cities—New Orleans, St. Louis, Springfield, Ohio, and Lancaster, Pennsylvania—more than half of all relief was disbursed by public departments. In more than a third of these cities—that is, from Detroit down the list through Minneapolis—at least two-thirds of all relief came from public sources.

Perhaps a few absolute figures would be of some interest in this connection.[1] The total cost of relief in Chicago in 1928 was in round numbers $2,622,000, of which $955,000 came from private organizations and $1,667,000 from the public treasury. The total for Detroit was $2,385,000, which was only slightly below the Chicago total in spite of the difference in size of the two cities. Only $42,000 of this sum came from private groups and the remainder, $2,343,000, was derived from public sources. In Cleveland the total disbursement was $718,000, of which $394,000 came from public departments and $323,000 from private agencies. In Cincinnati the total expenditure was $506,000, of which $318,000 was from public and $188,000 from private funds. In Minneapolis the public agencies disbursed $272,000 and the private $114,000. In St. Paul $293,000 was expended by the public departments and $99,000 by the private societies. Both of these charts, as well as the absolute figures just cited, indicate in a measure the importance of public activity in current social work operations.

Chart III shows three curves that indicate the trend of relief in 1928. The topmost curve shows the trend of relief disbursed by public agencies, including mothers' pension departments. The sums expended by mothers' pension departments are enormous, and since they are subject to relatively little fluctuation their inclusion with the figures for public outdoor relief tends to flatten this curve appreciably. Accordingly, the second curve omits mothers' pensions and includes only the other public disburse-

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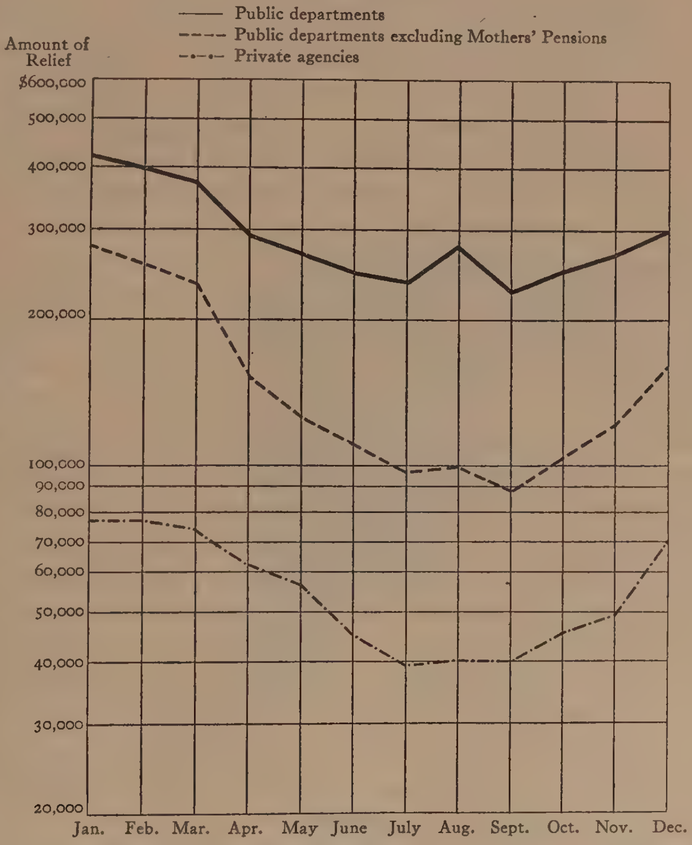
[1] These figures do not include either public or private expenditures for the relief of ex-soldiers.

CHART III

Amount of Relief Given in Thirteen Cities during Each Month of the Year 1928

(Semilogarithmic Scale)



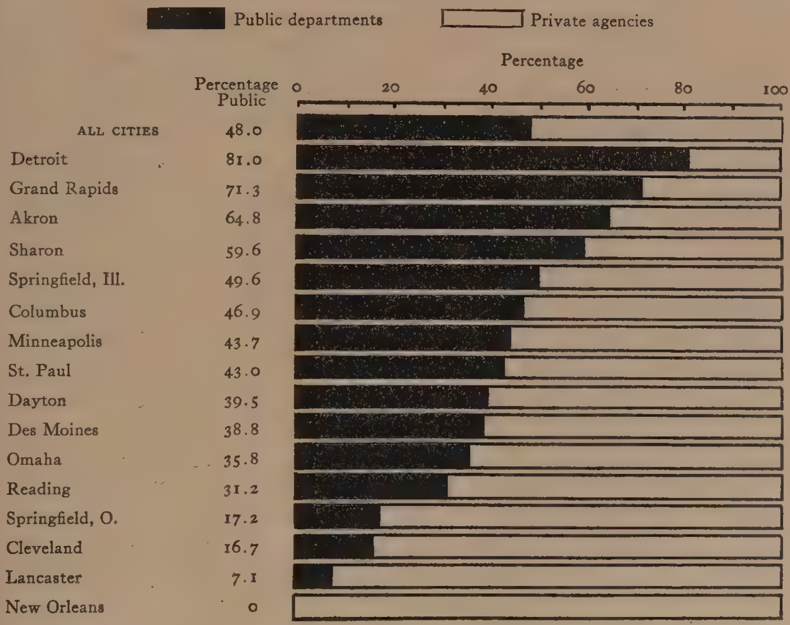
ments, such as blind pensions and outdoor relief. The third curve depicts the trend of relief expenditures of all private organizations. It should be mentioned at this point that the trends shown here are based on the total figures of thirteen cities rather than twenty-one, as was the case in the two preceding charts. Eight cities which submitted satisfactory totals for the year failed to give all the data needed to show monthly trends. The thirteen cities upon which these trends are based are Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Des Moines, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Lancaster, Minneapolis, New Orleans, Sharon, Sioux City, Springfield, Illinois, and Wichita. All three curves show a characteristic seasonal fluctuation. Detroit is chiefly responsible for the peak in August in the two uppermost curves. Not only was the August expenditure for public outdoor relief higher than the disbursements for July or September, but also the total paid in mothers' pensions in August exceeded by $40,000 the totals for the month before and the month after. The reason for this August peak is not known. It is the more interesting because a slight upward trend in August is also observable in the totals for the private agencies. In several cities whose figures do not enter into this curve, such as Newark, Akron, and Harrisburg, the August expenditures of the private agencies exceeded the relief disbursements both of July and of September. Among the cities included in this curve a like performance in August was registered in New Orleans, Columbus, Grand Rapids, and Lancaster. The three curves have in general the same contour except that the public outdoor relief curve seems to have been more influenced by the winter needs of 1927–28 than the curve of private relief. The decline in relief from January to July is sharper for the public agencies than private. For the winter 1928–29, however, there seems to be no difference between the response of the two groups.

Chart IV shows the per cent distribution of the average number of active cases served per month by public and private agencies, respectively. The whole bar represents 100 per cent of the cases. The solid bar represents the percentage of all cases that were in the hands of public agencies, and the hollow bar the percentage that were in the hands of private agencies. It seems pertinent to say here that the figures added together to get the total figure for each city were, first, all major care cases worked on each month and, second, all minor care cases worked on each month. The average figure for a month thus includes both major and minor cases. This method, though undesirable for some purposes, has the virtue in this instance of obviating differences of interpretation of the two concepts major and minor care.

CHART IV

Percentage of Cases Served by Public Departments and by Private Agencies for Family Welfare and Relief during 1928

(Based on Average Number of Major and Minor Cases Worked on per Month)



Public departments, for the entire group of sixteen cities shown here, handled 48.0 per cent, or less than half of all cases. This fact is the more interesting in the light of the chart we have already examined, which shows that the bulk of the relief is handled by the public departments. The mothers' pension divisions are in large part responsible for this difference. The funds they distribute reach very large totals in many cities and hence weight heavily the relief figures on the public side. On the other hand, the number of cases they carry is usually small, and they therefore do not bring proportionate weight to the case count of the public agencies. In only four of these cities do the public departments handle more than half of the cases. Detroit with 81 per cent of the cases in public departments heads the list. It is well to recall that 98.2 per cent of the relief in Detroit is disbursed by public agencies. Every city shows this same situation, namely, the percentage of cases in public departments is less than the percentage of relief given. A more intensive study of the figures in Chicago showed that the large percentage of cases in the hands of the private agencies is due in large part to their heavy load of minor care cases. Some agencies handle nothing but minor care cases because they are not equipped to give a more intensive service. Moreover, the great bulk of out of town inquiries, which ordinarily classify as minor care, come to the private rather than to the public agencies. The United Charities of Chicago, for example, handled about 60 per cent of all minor care cases reported in the city in 1928. (The total figure does not include the Salvation Army, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and the Catholic Central Charity Bureau.) The total implication of this chart seems to be that public agencies bear the burden of relief giving in most cities but that they have not thus far concerned themselves in equal measure with the types of case work that do not involve relief giving.

If we view these charts as being representative of similar situations in other fields, they seem to make one point very clear; whether we like it or not, government is already in the field of social work in a big way—on a scale so colossal, in fact, that even the enormous efforts of the private societies seem dwarfed by comparison.

THE ORGANIZATION OF STATE AND COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENTS

John A. Brown, Secretary, Indiana Board of State Charities, Indianapolis

THE attitude of government toward economic and social activities has undergone a great change in the last half-century. The governmental policy of leaving humanitarian functions to private agencies has been superseded by a movement toward the regulation, supervision, and administration of many features of social welfare work. There is a growing tendency to place upon the state and its political divisions many functions that were formerly private. The government justifies its position and activities in the field of social welfare on the principle that the chief function of government is the promotion of human welfare. There is an inherent power in the government to enact laws which will promote the peace, security, and social betterment of its citizens. Manifestations of this power are found in the volume of social legislation. Workmen's compensation, public health measures, pensions for the aged, aid to mothers with dependent children, legislation for the protection of workers in industry, and systems for the care of certain classes of unfortunates are but a few of the steps taken by government to exercise control and regulation of certain features of the social and economic welfare of its people. There is the constant urge for government to take over additional welfare functions. State legislatures and Congress are constantly confronted by some new demand for further governmental participation in this field.

The entrance of government into this field to so large an extent has given rise to the problem of organizing and socializing the machinery for the task it has undertaken. The transition from private to governmental departments has been gradual and over a period of years. As the state and its subdivisions assumed these new duties, their administration was delegated to existing officials or departments, or new political offices and boards were created. This may have been expedient, but it was not conducive to constructive social work. The results have been confusion, inadequate and varying standards, frequent changes in personnel and in forms of administrative policies and technique, waste, and often scandal.

One has only to study the history of public social service for the last decade or two to discover these defects and the unrest and dissatisfaction with many systems and methods of the administration of humanitarian functions by governmental agencies. Much confusion has arisen from the lack of understanding of what is meant by "administration" and "supervision." They are two distinct terms. The former has to do with management and control, the latter with general oversight without control. The one performs all the functions of administration, the other makes examination and inspection of the work done to see that proper standards are maintained.

Public welfare administration and supervision in the United States have passed through three periods of development. In the first period, from 1870 to 1900, each of the state institutions was under a separate board charged with the full responsibility of administering the work of the institution. A state board of charities, an unsalaried, nonpartisan board, appointed by the governor, exercised advisory and supervisory functions over state institutions and social agencies, local public welfare work, and in some instances certain private welfare organizations.

The second period, from 1900 to 1917, begins with the organization of state boards of control. This board is usually made up of a small number of people, sometimes political and often bipartisan, appointed by the governor. It exercises administrative and executive control of state institutions and in some states has control and supervision over certain local public institutions and boards.

In 1917 begins a third period, in which the management of public charities is vested in one individual appointed by the governor, who holds office during the term of the governor and is a member of his cabinet. This is usually known as the bureau or federal system. At the present time, these three forms of welfare organization or modifications of them are found in the various states. The systems of control of state charities may be classified into five groups: first, ex officio control in which heads of institutions are appointed by the governor or an ex officio board of elective officers, usually including the governor; second, separate boards of control for each institution with centralized supervision; third, separate boards for each institution controlled by one central board or two or more such boards controlling a group of similar institutions; fourth, administration and control of all institutions vested entirely in one central board; fifth, bureau or federal plan.

Several of the states have had two or more of these systems in operation within the last twenty years. Some of these changes were due, no doubt, to impatience with progress made by the existing system. The purely supervisory boards are charged with the duty of studying the whole system of public charities and through recommendation securing adoption of advanced policies in the care and treatment of the state's unfortunate wards. Progress under this system is often slow and tedious. Advanced programs recommended by such boards are not always readily accepted by those responsible for the management of the institutions. The desire for more rapid development, standardization, economy, and efficiency led a number of states to experiment with central systems of control, and some have continued ever since. In some states the administration of state institutions is under one board of control. Such management centralizes all important details of administration, budgeting, purchasing, policies, etc., in the state capitol.

A variation of this centralization is the grouping under two or more boards of certain groups of institutions. Some states have a department of mental diseases controlling institutions for insane and mental defectives; a department of corrections administering the penal and reformatory institutions; and a department of welfare controlling the charitable institutions.

The bureau or federal system established first in Illinois provides for a department of welfare in charge of one man appointed by the governor and responsible to him for the management of the state institutions. This department head goes in with the executive and retires with him. His term can at best be but a few years. He is often appointed for political reasons and not for his experience or qualifications. Even if he were always qualified by training and experience, a constructive program could scarcely be planned and followed to a conclusion with a change in manager every few years.

Institutional work and public welfare service are professional in character. Their administration requires persons of training and experience. Progress in social work can be measured only by generations. Programs must be planned and carried on over a period of years. Research and investigation are as important in social work as they are in science and mechanical arts. Institutions and social agencies should be the laboratories, and the social workers the research agents.

If the state systems of administration and supervision deal intelligently with the social problems presented in institution population, they must reach to the communities whence their population comes. There lie conditions and causes which are important factors in the treatment of the individuals sent to institutions and in the promotion of preventive programs. There local agencies are coping with the social misfits in the incipient stage when improvement and cure are most probable. The state department and these local officials, boards, and agencies need each other. They must be bound together if the most effective work is done. The state department and the state institutions must serve the entire state to their fullest extent.

Public social service is frequently criticized. Some of it is justified. The criticism most often heard is the domination of partisan politics. We know of its blighting influence when it gets its strangle hold on the public social service of state and county, repelling science and research and discouraging students and scientists from entering the service.

Public welfare work has not made progress comparable with that made by private social agencies, yet there are some public welfare departments which have made notable progress. They have called in private agencies and sought their cooperation. They have requested and secured appropriations for research, surveys, and experiments. Governors, some legislators, and other officials are taking a personal interest. But they are not permanent, and with the change of officials too often come changes in personnel and policies. What is true of the state social service is true of the local public charities. In some particulars the defects are even more glaring and discouraging.

American social work attained its primary growth and development in its cities. It was in the large centers of population that we first became aware of poverty, crime, disease, unemployment, and other social ills. We thought of our welfare programs in terms of the city. In recent years urban and rural interests in economics, civics, and welfare have been merging. Boundaries are widening and in some fields vanishing entirely. With these changes the question arises, How shall we organize our local welfare agencies to meet both the urban and rural problems?

There seems to be a growing tendency to organize local public charities on the county unit basis. This may be attributed to the fact that the county is the universal unit of government. Several interesting experiments have been tried in various sections of the country. In this field it was a private agency that pointed the way. In 1872 the New York State Charities Aid Association adopted the county plan of organization. Other states have followed. Experiments in county organization have been carried on in Iowa, New Jersey, Missouri, and North Carolina. Other states have organized certain phases of welfare work, especially in the child welfare field, on the county basis. In each state some outstanding organizations have demonstrated the possibilities of effective social work on a county-wide plan.

In the Iowa plan, there is a merging of public and private agencies under a county board. This board is composed of representative citizens, the members of the board of county supervisors acting as members ex officio. The outdoor relief of both is centered in this board. The secretary or director of the private agency is appointed overseer of the poor, this authority being voluntarily delegated by the county board of supervisors. This plan is rendering effective service in several counties.

The outstanding experiment in New Jersey is the Monmouth County Branch of the State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association. This organization has coordinated the activities of the major public welfare agencies of the county and has demonstrated the possibilities and the value of correlating local and state-wide agencies.

North Carolina in 1917 initiated a state-wide program for a county system of welfare boards. The State Board of Charities and Welfare appoints in each county an advisory board of three members known as a County Board of Charities and Welfare. This appointment is mandatory. The appointment of county superintendents of public welfare by local officials is also mandatory. Such appointments must have the approval of the state commissioner of public welfare. The duties of the county superintendent of public welfare are many and varied. The full performance of them requires cooperation with all the public and private social agencies and offers great possibilities in organization, standardization, and coordination.

Missouri has a law in many respects similar to that of North Carolina but it differs in two important particulars. It is not mandatory and the county superintendents are appointed by the county courts with no provision for veto by any state board.

In other states provision has been made for municipal and for county organization, but with the exception of North Carolina no state has developed such agencies in all of its counties.

County organization offers a number of advantages: first, it utilizes the one nation-wide unit of local self-government; second, it offers admirable facilities for coordinating private and public agencies; third, it offers an opportunity for effective correlation of urban and rural problems; fourth, in many states there are county agencies for one or more phases of welfare work which may serve as a basis for further organization in other social work.

Outstanding needs in public social work are the correlation of state and local programs, the cooperation of public and private agencies, stability, and permanence. To secure these essential features there must be developed a program which will effectively tie state and local units to each other and safeguard both of them against partisan politics. It is not necessary or desirable to organize all states on the same plan. Each state has its own characteristics, traditions, and history. It is essential, however, for all systems to have fundamental features and accomplish similar results. In so far as practicable, each local unit should assume responsibility for the organization and administration of its social service. The sphere of duties of each unit should be clear cut in relation to other units and the general program in order clearly to define their interrelation. A central state department should have supervisory power over local units to insure proper standards, unity in effort, continuity in policy, and uniform statistics.

Three great difficulties to be faced in perfecting a state-wide system of local agencies in public welfare work are the lack of trained personnel, which will insure professionalism and scientific work, insufficient funds, and the divorcing of welfare work from partisan politics. How can these difficulties be met? The most powerful influence is public opinion. The public charities need to be interpreted to the people. They cannot be interested unless informed. They will not demand better organization, trained leadership, adequate funds, and scientific work unless their need and value have been demonstrated. Enlightened publicity is a sharper spur to action and a more potent agency of compulsion than law. It is a driving force acting through reason, facts, and good will. Here the county unit plan offers an advantage. By local demonstrations and the more personal contacts can the ideals in public welfare be most effectively presented. Only by these methods can we create public opinion of such a character as will demand and sustain a state-wide social welfare program.

It is important to encourage the public schools and higher institutions of learning to establish a more intimate and personal contact with public welfare institutions and organizations. These agencies should offer the students in medicine, law, education, civics, and sociology every facility at their command for study and training. No educational institution should feel that its courses which treat of human relations are complete unless it has effected a working relation with public and private welfare societies. Service clubs and women's organizations are manifesting an increasing interest in various phases of welfare work. No opportunity should be lost by public welfare officials to give them proper information and to secure their active participation in some organized social work.

It is important to the state to encourage state and national meetings to discuss social problems. How many of the public agencies are represented at our state and national conferences? Their number is all too few. The National Conference of Social Work and most state conferences were organized largely by those engaged in public charities. Can we attribute some of the slow progress in public welfare work to the lack of interest in conferences on the part of officials engaged in social work? I think we can. It is a part of the duty of the public agencies to encourage and support local, state, and national group meetings.

The state's proper work is with the entire program of the charities within the commonwealth. It should know the whole problem and the public agencies should be organized and unified to solve it.

MEXICAN WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

Robert N. McLean, Director, Spanish Speaking Work, Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles

WE MAY well divide the various users of Mexican labor into two groups—the primary and the secondary. The former group includes the industries which first use the Mexican worker when he comes into the United States. But always there is a large group of employers who get their labor during slack periods in the employment furnished by the primary recruiters.

Chief among the representatives of this first group are the railroads and the large agricultural interests. Mexicans do all the trackwork on the railroads of the Southwest, and are now coming to be seen working with pick and shovel upon many of the lines in the East. Roy Kelly, of the Southern Pacific Railroad, estimates that not less than a quarter of a million Mexicans, including wives and children, are supported by the work done upon the transportation systems of the country.

The growers of perishable agricultural products also have their agents at the border recruiting Mexican workers. When the beet season begins in the spring, the employment agencies at border points are hives of activity. The Mexicans are sent by the company to the districts where they are needed. Then come the grinding weeks of toil, when the possibility of a falling sugar content in the growing beets drives the contract families who are thinning and weeding to herculean efforts. Company, farmer, and worker all have a stake in this exciting game, and every other interest is forgotten while the thinning and weeding is going on. Then comes a lull of six weeks, after which the contract families are again in the fields topping the beets as the plows turn them out of the soil.

Competing with the beet growers are the melon, the cotton, the grape, and the lettuce growers. California produces not less than 180 distinct crops. There is not a month during the year when some crop is not rolling to market. As yet, these various industries are in the competitive period when it comes to the matter of recruiting Mexican labor.

Last fall I journeyed in my car from the San Joaquin Valley, over the Ridge Route to Los Angeles. All day I traveled between two lines of Mexican workers. There were decrepit Ford cars loaded with household articles, small trucks doing both a passenger and a freight business, and every car had its quota of brown-eyed children. The walnut season was over in southern California, and the workers were journeying north in hope of finding work in the cotton harvest, which was just beginning in California's great inland valley. But the grape harvest was over in the valley, and those who had been engaged in it were journeying south to look for work in the navel orange crop which was just coming on. And so the two lines of workers passed each other, spending time and money in traveling, because no one has shown us how the various industries can coordinate, and budget, and pool, their demands for Mexican labor.

The Mexican is often criticized for being a rover. He is here today and somewhere else tomorrow; and one who couples a permanent residence with the idea of respectability is sure that the Mexican worker cannot be good for much, or he would not always be losing or throwing up one job and moving his family away in search of another. Now the Mexican's habits are not migratory, but the habits of the industries which furnish him a livelihood most certainly are. Perhaps no group of people have ever been more fixed in their residence than the Mexican workers before they came to this country. In fact, before the present revolutionary movement they were chained to the soil. The law provided that a laborer could not leave the land upon which he was born, until he had discharged his debt to his *patrón;* and the economic system under which he worked fixed it so that his debt could never be paid. And lest some lucky individual should slip through the social and economic meshes which were tight about him, a peon's debts were left to his son to carry on after he was gone. Coming from this habit of a fixed residence for father and son, our Mexican workers have developed into the most migratory group in the Southwest. They have learned that they must either move with the crops or starve.

The social workers in the organization which I represent recently made a study of the migrations of a considerable number of Mexican families. It was found that groups of families generally move together. Something of the old patriarchal idea was evident, the group often being made up of a father, and two or three sons, with their families. Usually single men or *solos* were attached to the group as boarders. Much idleness was indicated, and there was evident a distinct economic loss both in time wasted and in the expense of moving from place to place.

Some families, however, worked throughout the entire year. The year chart of a California family gives an excellent idea of the number of places where an abode was set up, as well as the different types of work undertaken.

Time	Place	Crop	Weekly Wage	Housing	Sickness
January......	Redlands	Oranges	$65 for 3	Fair	None
February.....	Redlands	Oranges	85 for 3	Fair	Daughter flu
March.......	Redlands	Oranges	85 for 3	Fair	None
April........	Coachella Valley	Onions	45 for 3	Own tents	None
May.........	Coachella Valley	Onions	45 for 3	Own tents	None
June.........	Hemot	Apricots	60 for 5	Tents	None
July.........	Hemot	Apricots	60 for 5	Tents	None
August.......	Banning	Almonds	80 for 5	Tents	None
September....	Banning	Almonds	80 for 5	Tents	None
October......	Yuma	Cotton	80 for 5	Tents	None
November....	Yuma	Cotton	80 for 5	Tents	None
December....	Redlands	Oranges	40 for 3	Fair	None

Here is a family which during the period of a single year lived in five different places. It would appear that the family has worked out a cycle, and that a permanent home is maintained in Redlands. If that is so, it is probable that the children have four months of schooling each year, while the church and the settlement house have no better opportunity for doing constructive work. In fact the migratory family is constantly dodging the constructive social stimuli, while falling a prey to the destructive stimuli which are always typical of a vagrant type of life.

In this matter of the use of migratory Mexican labor, we are fast reaching an intolerable condition. It costs us too much to educate children who never stay long enough in a single place to become adjusted, and it costs us too much in the retardation of our own children when they are grouped constantly with Mexicans who have "work to make up." No social studies have been made which will enable us to count the cost in indigency and crime which this type of life breeds, but it is safe to guess that it is enormous. It is time that society demand that the large employers of Mexican labor so budget their labor needs as to eliminate much of this industrial vagrancy.

The secondary recruiters of Mexican labor are the factories and foundries, and the construction projects in the great cities. The Mexican peon is normally a farm laborer, and turns naturally to this type of work. But always there are seasons of unemployment, and it is during these times of idleness that the secondary recruiter gets the worker. A Mexican farm laborer, for example, drifts to Los Angeles when the labor demand is at its lowest ebb. He finds employment on a construction gang, and hesitates to leave when the crop which recruited him originally is again calling.

In any circle where the subject of Mexican immigration is discussed there is always someone to declare that if left alone the problem will solve itself. There is abroad the conviction that eventually all the Mexicans in this country will go back to Mexico. This pious hope was very much in evidence in the hearings on the Box and the Harris bills before the Congressional Committees on Immigration. Witness after witness representing the large employers of Mexican labor declared that their workers went to Mexico to spend the winter, and that in a short time they would all return permanently to the homeland. The school board of Los Angeles, with its Mexican school enrolment increasing on an average of about 3,000 a year, is now encouraged by the fact that among the new pupils there are very few who "came from Mexico." While practically all our schools in California are enrolling more and more Mexican children every year, it would seem that very few are coming from Mexico. We appear to be increasing our Mexican population by passing it from one community to another.

In a dozen community houses from San Antonio to Los Angeles, 1,021 individuals were studied through the questionnaire method. It was found that 833 had been in this country for five years or more. Of the total not a single one stated that it was his habit to spend the winter in Mexico. Twenty-four were going back to live in Mexico; 15 were not sure, while 982 stated that it was their plan to remain permanently in the United States. What was even more significant, three-fourths of all those questioned expressed themselves as being in favor of the Box bill, or some other legislation which would protect them from their job-hungry relatives in Mexico.

The replies to the question as to their intentions were most illuminating: "I'd like to go home, but the children like it better here, and we shall stay near them." "No; the wages are so much better in this country." "Mexico is my fatherland, and I love it, but we shall always stay here." Evidently the roots of our Mexican population are down too deep in our social and economic soil to permit of the possibility of a return.

And why should it be otherwise? If the Mexicans in the United States were to return to Mexico, it would be the first time in history that any great racial movement has turned back upon itself. We might just as well face the fact that the Mexican laborers in this country constitute a permanent part of our social and economic life.

Every large employer of Mexican labor in the Southwest can make you see that the industry which he represents is absolutely dependent upon Mexican labor. Farmers in California's Imperial Valley will tell you that without the Mexican their valley would go back to the desert. Indeed, there is something about California besides her climate and her scenery; her very existence depends upon her agriculture. And without the Mexicans that agriculture would not be possible. Their days of labor, indeed, their very life blood, have gone into all the great construction jobs of the Southwest, just as the lives of their fathers went into the great buildings of Mexico. Without them the transportation systems which bind the country together and which bring perishable crops to the consumers would be impossible. Indeed, the Mexican is the Atlas who holds upon his broad shoulders the industrial world in the Southwest.

But while there are many who are ready to admit that he is an asset when it comes to brawn and muscle there are few who see any other contribution which he has to make. We forget that there flows in his veins the blood of the Spaniard. We forget the richer contribution which came from the Aztecs and the Mayas. The Mexican worker has a sensitiveness for tone and color which would make of him a real asset if our racial superiority did not prevent us from seeing it. No Mexican can live without his music. In our public schools many teachers declare that in handwork, in art, in music, the children of these Mexican laborers excel.

Turning to the liabilities presented by the presence of so many Mexican workers in this country, there are those who are quick to show us what a heavy load they are upon the relief budgets of our various agencies. It has been explained, for instance, that in Los Angeles, where they make up about 12 per cent of the population, they absorb about 50 per cent of the budgets provided for charity and other forms of relief. We must remember that it is the laborer, the man who lives and works closest to the margin of existence, who needs the most charity. In Los Angeles and, indeed, in many communities, it is the Mexicans who do the common labor. In fact, we have imported them for that very purpose. We should not be surprised, then, if they should present what seems a disproportionate demand for charity.

The sickness liability is one also which does not escape notice. When the pneumonic plague broke out in Los Angeles in the fall of 1924, it was found that the two foci of infection were both in Mexican districts. It is pointed out that amoebic dysentery is one of the major perils in Mexico, and that most of our foodstuffs in this country are handled by Mexicans. We are told also that typhus fever is no idle fear. Here also, we are to remember that we deal with the laboring group, and sickness is always more prevalent among those who have the poorest housing and who are most inadequately nourished. A study of the health statistics of Los Angeles County, made a few years ago by Mr. R. B. Peters, of Devore, California, revealed the fact that Mexicans suffer more than Americans from preventable diseases, while the liability of the Americans to such diseases as cancer is considerably greater.

It is impossible to make a survey of any Mexican community without being told by Americans that Mexican delinquency is far out of proportion to the Mexican share in the total population. Some workers making a Mexican study in the Imperial Valley a few years ago met this statement so persistently that a check was made of all the jails in the valley upon successive occasions. It was found that the percentage of Mexican inmates about equaled the Mexican percentage of the total population of the valley. No adequate study has yet been made of the subject of Mexican delinquency. There are some interesting sidelights, however. Recently a graduate student in sociology in the University of Chicago decided to write his thesis upon the subject: "The Social Background of Mexican Juvenile Delinquents in Chicago." At the Institute of Juvenile Research, he found that out of five thousand cases on record, only four were Mexican.

But the Mexican colony in Chicago is comparatively new, and it is probable that the patriarchal type of family life still maintains. There are plenty of Mexican juvenile delinquents in Los Angeles.

The Mexican worker is here to stay, and inevitably he will make his contribution to our national life. But in making that contribution he will take advantage of his opportunity to rise out of the ranks of the common laborer. Only so, indeed, can the principles of our democracy be maintained.

CONTROL OF MIGRATION THROUGH INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT

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THIS discussion carries with it no implication that the question of emigration or immigration is not a so called domestic question. It goes without saying, it seems to me, that every country is entitled to decide which of its citizens may depart from its borders and who may enter, and upon what conditions. Each country will make its decision on the basis of its own interests and policy, that is, for political reasons.

It is at the point where rights conflict, where contact is made, where relationship comes into being that broader international points of view have to be taken. Science has suddenly discovered that its current notions about the nature of the physical world are based upon experiences upon this earth. The newer science raises the question as to the nature of those experiences from the point of view of an observer somewhere off in the Milky Way. The result has been almost a complete revolution in science. We are told of such things as a space-time continuum, relativity, and the identity of gravitational and electrical forces, all of which are completely obscure as far as I am concerned. I refer to it only by way of analogy. Just as a new "frame of reference" has been established in the scientific world, so a newer point of reference has been set up in the relations of nations. That point lies outside of any given nation; it is the world-community point of view.

It is because there exist such entities as nationality and sovereignty in the political world, autonomous and self-sufficient, that treaties are necessary to regulate their relationships. In the ancient and medieval world, where nations as such did not exist, everything was done by the legislative and imperial method. When such legal entities as nations were produced, endowed with legal personality, the method of contract, agreement, and treaty became obviously necessary. Of course these are platitudes. But I have indulged in them because it is frequently asserted that it would be a derogation of sovereignty to consider the migration of peoples as an international problem to be dealt with by treaty. My contention is that, because there are independent nationalities as forms of organization, there must be international consideration, supervision, or regulation of the concrete symbols of that nationalism, namely, persons bearing the stamp of different forms of national citizenship. It is merely a question of the enlarging scope of treaty action in an interdependent world. The handling of certain aspects of the migration problem by treaty is but another illustration of the expanding social contract upon which the world-community is slowly being built.

When one examines the treaties on the subject of migration, it will be found that the early period of treaty-making is concerned with the declaration of rights. This was followed by a period of regulation of colonial labor recruiting which began with the abolition of the slave trade. Then came the reciprocity treaties as a result of the growth in social legislation. That was the situation at the opening of the World War. The Peace Conference laid the foundation for a broader consideration of the migration problem through the conference method, thereby establishing the régime which prevails today. Finally, as a result of greater restriction of migration by national legislation following the war, the nations found it all the more necessary to take up by treaty and conference with one another the seasonal movement of labor called for by the very nature of industry and agriculture. This has given rise to a number of labor recruiting treaties which have become the characteristic post-war migration treaties. For the future the developments are in the direction of multilateral engagements through conference and greater international concentration on the problem of migration, whether by research or conference, as a natural result of the closing of national exits and entrances. For the tighter the doors are closed the greater the need for warning signs and attendants to answer the knocks of those who inquire; a necessary and paradoxical consequence of the nationalism of today.

Nothing is more characteristic of the world today than the will and the practice to consider social and non-political problems in an international setting. It is not too much to say that not a single country can be found taking exception to that principle. Countries which may definitely withhold themselves from international cooperation in the political sphere publicly express their willingness to cooperate in non-political humanitarian endeavors of every sort. Since the war the chief characteristic of the world-community is to consider and treat internationally questions which in the past were purely domestic questions. I have in mind particularly labor problems (which are not even national in the United States but subject to state regulation). In the charter of the International Labor Organization these problems were given an international aspect and form the center of discussion of the International Labor Office. Prior to the present International Labor Office the principle of equality of treatment of native and alien workers before the law had gained ground as a result of the general democratization of society. The statement in the Constitution of the United States that no citizen shall be denied the equal protection of the law has a sound psychological basis which becomes clearer, I think, if we substitute for the word "citizen" the word "neighbor." It is in that rather widespread human feeling that we find the soundest basis of the reciprocity principle.[1] Discrimination cannot be permanently sustained with respect to your neighbor on the same street. (To do that we must segregate.) The inevitable tendency is rather to draw a friendly parallel with him. It seems that that is the principle which lies at the base of the system of reciprocity treaties for the mutual application of social legislation to native and alien workers alike. It is the principle that is the natural outcome of the system of social legislation which was being erected by western industrialism during the nineteenth century.

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[1] This principle was, of course, definitely declared as underlying the International Labor Office. The Eighth Declaration states: "The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein." The wording of this Declaration proved very troublesome at the Peace Conference and finally came from under the hand of President Wilson himself.

Curiously enough, the first treaty which recognized the principle of comity in international social legislation was that of February 26, 1871, between Italy and the United States. (But here one may observe that in a way it was natural that this should be the American point of view as a federal state in which the comity of states was regularly recognized.) The treaty of 1871 was supplemented by an agreement of February 25, 1913, guaranteeing to the nationals of each of the contracting parties protection in respect of rights derived from the application of laws on accident compensation. The first European treaty concerning provisions for social reciprocity was the Franco-British agreement of 1882 on savings banks. Since that time large numbers of treaties have been enacted covering reciprocity in social insurance, workmen's compensation, old age and invalidity insurance, unemployment insurance and relief, health insurance, protection of women and children, protection of seamen and other special classes of workers concerning relief and repatriation, right of association, nationality of aliens, and public health. These bilateral agreements are a sort of friendly parallelism in social legislation. They do not deal directly with migration but modify national conditions in such a way as indirectly to affect migration.

The treaties which terminated the World War gathered up some of the loose ends of pre-war developments with respect to migration, rerouted them, and started them on lines of evolution the ends of which are not yet in sight. The word migration is nowhere used in the covenant of the League of Nations nor in the charter of the International Labor Organization. The Peace Conference touched migration only by implication at the following four points: first, the covenant of the League of Nations and the charter of the International Labor Organization have as their general purpose the establishment and maintenance of fair conditions of labor for men, women, and children; second, special provisions relating to the treatment of native population are contained in the mandates system; third, abatement of the traffic in women and children is specifically mentioned; fourth, guaranties are to be provided for the maintenance of freedom of communication and transit. Aside from these generalities the omission of principles is apparent. The provision of institutions to handle the problem was considered the more important. The chief purpose was not to map and lay out roads, but rather to provide road building machinery in the belief that the world would therewith move easily and build its own highways of international cooperation. Questions of migration figure in the treaties only indirectly, shall I say, covertly. The treaties gave us the machinery, but left us holding a Pandora's box of problems.

At the very moment when the discussions were taking place in the Peace Conference at Paris negotiations were in progress between the principal European countries to meet those problems of employment that made the post-war era probably the most critical in all history. For migration is obviously an aspect of the employment situation. Certainly no one would say that a slowing down of the stream of immigration to the United States did not help to keep down unemployment. And no less true is the reverse that an inability to move surplus workers out of Europe after the war contributed immensely to their unemployment situation. It was only natural that the European countries should try to handle their problem by some sort of agreements among themselves, lacking as they did free trade in labor such as we find within our own borders. Promptly, therefore, in 1919 several important labor recruiting treaties were entered into, not only between the allied countries but between allies and former enemy states. These are the treaties of today which really organize migration from an international point of view. Technically, they are bilateral agreements. They are generally for a short period—a year or so—but have been renewed from time to time and are still in force.

France has made practical use of agreements of this character, and in them are to be found fairly complete statements of

French migration policy. The first of these treaties for the exchange of labor was that between France and Poland in 1919. In the same year France concluded treaties with Italy, in 1920 with Czechoslovakia, in 1924 with Belgium, to mention only the principal agreements. One might add to the list the Greco-Bulgarian convention of 1920, the Italian-Luxemburg, the Austro-Polish, the Italian-Brazilian, German-Czechoslovak, Polish-Jugoslavia, Austria-Czechoslovak, which last date from 1927.

It is not intended in this paper to enter into a detailed discussion of the terms of these different agreements. Among the provisions common to most of them are, first, the explicit promise for equality of treatment for immigrant workers and nationals in regard to conditions of work; second, understanding that the individual freedom of movement for collective recruiting must be subject to the limitations or conditions of the labor market; third, use of public employment exchanges as the agencies of recruiting and placing labor; fourth, regulation of the right of employers and workers to be represented upon advisory administrative commissions concerned with recruiting and determination of the state of the labor market (these commissions meet periodically and lay down programs for each year or season in advance); fifth, model contracts are agreed to not only for workers recruited collectively but also for individual immigrants. It is also generally understood that if one country subsequently makes a more favorable treaty with another nation those more favored conditions shall become operative as if contained in the agreement with the first-named country. In other words, the idea of the most-favored-nation clause becomes operative.

The agreement between Germany and Czechoslovakia of May 11, 1928, may serve to illustrate the detail with which seasonal migration of agricultural workers from Czechoslovakia to Germany is handled. Recruiting, placing, and contracting of Czechoslovakian seasonal workers is carried out through the German central office for workers and the Czechoslovakia state labor offices. The workers are engaged under a contract drawn up by the expert committee of agriculture and forestry of the German employment exchange organization. The officials must notify the Czechoslovakian government well in advance of any changes in the nature of the contract, particularly of an unfavorable character. The workers must be hired in groups of more than fourteen workers. On their side, the Germans must communicate the needs of individual employers to the proper Czechoslovak labor exchange. These exchanges approve the contract and appoint the foreman or group leader. They select the workers in agreement with the German central office. Workers must be informed exactly of the content of the contract and must sign it. The Czechoslovak office will see that the workers proceed to Germany in time to undertake their work. According to German regulations and at the expense of the employer, the workers must be medically examined and vaccinated as they cross the frontier. Those sick or unfit may be refused and returned to their homes. Unexpired contracts can only be changed in special cases and such changes must not impose any worsening of conditions of health, work, or wages. The Czechoslovak workers in Germany are guaranteed the same protection as German workers with respect to labor legislations, trade union activities, public relief, and settlement of trade disputes. The German government must supervise the housing of the imported workers. There is scarcely a detail of working and living conditions which is not made the subject of mutual arrangements.

Clearly enough, the situation is one of active and insistent experimentation, an introductory stage, of which we can see not the future technical details to be worked out but rather the larger significance and general drift. It is on that note that I wish to close.

First, the Peace Conference established machinery for international cooperation and developed an inevitable tendency to bring about through that machinery a certain amount of uniformity and regularity into the relations between the different nations. Increasing economic difficulties and unemployment, of which we have become more or less universally aware, have extended the process of the international consideration of problems of emigration and immigration. The tendency is toward the development of an international code, to deal with the purely international aspects of migration, such as, for example, transit and placing in temporary employment. We have not advanced far in theory from the point at which we began, namely, with the declaration of rights and principles respecting national control over emigration and immigration, but we have taken a tremendous stride by having equipped ourselves with the seven-league boots of international machinery.

Second, the bilateral treaties through which the exchange of employment takes place supply the beginnings of rudimentary international administrative machinery in the field of migration control. A system of international labor exchanges is being worked out. Men are registered and transferred across national boundaries. Labor in one country needed in another is moving with regularity and dispatch.

Third, the approach to the problem of migration is actually being completely revolutionized before our eyes. However limited their action in this field, the nations are really beginning to deal with migration as an economic problem rather than as if it were a cultural and nationalistic theology of some sort. The recruiting treaty provides a sort of sliding economic quota for the exchange of labor. This is a manner of approach that fits into the realities of international life. Migration is but an aspect of the employment problem. These treaties handle the subject from that point of view. The process of recruiting, selection, and examination of workers recognizes the economic interests of the countries of emigration as well as of immigration. It permits direct determination of the number and kinds of persons which it is desired to bring into the country, taking account of the state of employment and economic opportunity.

More particularly, the treaties have brought into the picture those immediately concerned in the problem. The workers' groups of the world are particularly anxious to have the question of recruiting regularized under some standard agreement. They are the beneficiaries or the victims of the movement as the case may be. Employers obviously have an interest in seeing that the labor market does not become too tight as a result of excessive restrictions against their labor supply. Governments have a broader social and economic interest in mind which they as arbiters of the movement as a whole are free to exercise through the customary agreements of international relations.

These employment treaties are of the very essence of peace. Peace does not consist in concentrating on when and where the next war is going to take place, but how and what are we going to do about the day-to-day frictions that arise in the social and economic world.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM

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A CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN CAPACITY FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

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TODAY the American people have the opportunity, if they will, to write the closing chapters in the history of the relationship of the national government and the Indians. The past record of our government in dealing with this ancient social problem contains little of which we may be proud. The national conscience is stirred. A demand is growing that the government shall recognize in full its obligations toward its Indian wards, that it furnish them with a social service abreast of the best rendered any people.

The Indians in the United States are not and never have been a homogeneous people. Their diversity is perhaps best evidenced by the fact that more than fifty totally different distinct linguistic stocks were represented among the Indians in the territory which became the United States. There was no single common Indian language. Often Indians coming from a common linguistic stock had distinct dialects. Differences between the several Indian linguistic stocks were far greater than the differences between the various European tongues.

Another significant fundamental difference was in the main source of food supply. Like most primitive people the different tribes of Indians were, when Columbus discovered America, primarily dependent on one main source of food. A simplified classification recognizes four main groups within the confines of the United States: fish eating Indians in the Pacific Northwest, seed and nut eating Indians in California and Nevada, bison eating Indians on the great plains, maize eating Indians in the eastern and southwestern parts where agriculture had developed. These Indians, of course, had other sources of food supply. This classification is based solely on the main source, the one that formed the economic basis of their culture.

The advent of white civilization in many instances tended to destroy the economic basis of the primitive culture of the Indians. Most striking was the practical extermination of the bison, the principal source of food, clothing, and shelter for the great body of plains' Indians, the cause of great uprisings among the Sioux. Many maize raising Indians were removed from their ancestral lands. Only in a few instances, mainly those of agricultural Indians in the Southwest, have the primitive sources of food supply remained. Where they still remain we find today the old Indian culture, modified but not destroyed by the pressure of white civilization.

Another fact to remember is that when Columbus discovered America most of the Indians in the territory now in continental United States were in the Stone Age. Their culture was separated by hundreds of years from that of the invading whites. Sometimes people assume that an equally wide gap lay between their intelligence and the intelligence of the whites. So far as I know no evidence warrants any such broad conclusions. Modern psychological tests seem to indicate that the whites have a somewhat superior intelligence but possibly the tests tend to favor the whites. The almost universal testimony of persons who have worked with Indians and who have known them well is that they have plenty of intelligence for working purposes. Many army officers who fought against them in the Indian wars bore testimony to the marked intelligence, even the genius, of the great Indian leaders. Some masterpieces of simple direct Indian oratory have come down to us. It seems perfectly safe to say that the great difference in the cultures lay in something other than differences in native intelligence.

At present in the United States we have in the neighborhood of 350,000 Indians with whom the national government has some relationships. The Indian Service reports that it deals with about 200 different tribes located in twenty-six different states.

Approximately one-third of the Indians are now located in Oklahoma. Most of them were moved in there by the national government when it was proposed to have an Indian state from which the whites were to be excluded. Most numerous are the Five Civilized Tribes, brought in from North and South Carolina and Georgia in the days of Andrew Jackson. Many of them are mixed bloods far advanced along the white man's road. You will find them in the Teachers' College at the old Cherokee capital of Tahlequah, at the University of Oklahoma, and in the Congress of the United States. But back in the hills of eastern Oklahoma you will find the full bloods living somewhat as mountain whites, neglected in matters of health and education, a real social problem for the national government and the state of Oklahoma. Conditions among them are bad, but perhaps not much worse than among some of the poor whites in the same vicinity. The wealthy state of Oklahoma has not yet passed a state equalization law for public schools, so that the county school system is what the counties can and will provide.

I must say a word about the oil-rich Osages. Stories of their great wealth have created a popular belief that all Indians are rich and extravagant. They number only about 3,000, less than 1 per cent of the total. Tales regarding this little group have blinded the people of the United States and have kept them from understanding that the great majority of the Indians are poor, desperately poor.

The Southwest, particularly Arizona and New Mexico, is the full blood country. Most picturesque and most familiar to tourists are the village dwelling Indians, the Rio Grande Pueblos, about 9,000 in number, the Hopis, about 2,800, and the Zunis, about 1,900. They live mainly by agriculture, growing their crops by irrigation as they have done for centuries. Although many of these village dwelling Indians were in contact with the

Spanish when the Mayflower landed at Plymouth, they have in a large measure preserved their culture. Many of them wish to continue to preserve it, and many good white people want them to continue to preserve it because it is rich in history and art, rich in possibilities for the future. The Pimas and the Papagos are other agricultural Indians in the full blood country, numbering about 4,000 and 6,000, respectively. The largest homogeneous body of Indians are the Navajos, full bloods of Arizona and New Mexico. A recent census places the number at approximately 50,000. They are sheep raisers, economically independent, standing on their own feet but living according to an extremely low primitive standard. Already their sheep are crowding their barren land to its capacity and the government faces a real problem in getting them more land or finding new avenues for their energy.

In the North and Northwest the Indians are largely mixed bloods. The most numerous tribes are the Chippewas, with about 25,000 located in Minnesota, North Dakota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, and those of Siouxan stock, about 32,000 in South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana. Idaho, Washington, and Oregon also are important Indian states.

In California and Nevada are the so-called landless Indians, who are almost without property. They gave up their lands in accordance with treaties entered into with representatives of the national government, but these treaties were lost in the Senate and were never ratified because the discovery of gold led to the fear that the treaties might give the Indians valuable gold deposits. The California Indians are very much scattered and nowhere are found in large groups.

This gives an inadequate picture of the diversity of the Indian tribes and an incomplete impression of the extent to which they are scattered over remote sections of the country. I have often tried to think of what simple statements one can make that are true of all the Indians in the United States. I can think of but one. They are all of Indian blood, but the degree of Indian blood differs very widely, as I have pointed out. In fact, from the social, educational, and economic standpoint, the striking differences are far more significant than the resemblances. The only approach to uniformity in the Indian problem is in the past administration of the Indian Service, which has often failed to give due consideration to the marked differences in the social problem which it was attempting to solve. Persons responsible for Indian administration must give special consideration to these differences because they mean that from the constructive educational social point of view we face not a single Indian problem but a multitude of distinct human problems.

I have already spoken of the marked differences in the degree of Indian blood, which represents in part differences in the extent and duration of contacts with the white race and in part differences in the attitudes of Indians toward neighboring whites and of neighboring whites toward Indians. Marked and to some extent corresponding differences exist in the degree of advancement of the Indians along the white man's road. In eastern Oklahoma and in the Pacific Northwest will be found many Indians who are of the third or fourth generation to attend the white man's school. English is spoken in the homes. Possibly an old grandfather or grandmother is the only member of the family who still speaks the Indian tongue. In the schools on the Navajo reservations will be found boys and girls in their teens grouped in adult primary classes, struggling with the difficulties of English, the first representatives of their families ever to attend a white man's school.

Wide differences exist in the economic resources owned by the Indians. I have mentioned the oil-rich Osages. At Klamath, Oregon, an advanced, forward looking body of Indians is possessed of great timber resources. The Menominees of Wisconsin also own valuable timber. The Pimas in Arizona have land which will be made productive and valuable by the water from the Coolidge Dam. At the other extreme are the landless Indians of California and Nevada, pressed back to remote and barren hillsides with few economic possibilities. For some Indians Booker Washington's "Let down your bucket where you are" is a practical program; for others it would mean only prolonged tragedy.

Marked differences also exist in the attitude of state and county governments and local philanthropic agencies toward the Indians. California stands well toward the fore in this respect. It presents a unique opportunity for a constructive demonstration of the possibilities of state administration of welfare work for Indians with federal grants in aid, with some federal cooperation in administration. Washington, Minnesota, and Wisconsin are also possible areas in which to try this forward step. Oklahoma is not yet ready for it. Where Indian matters in Oklahoma have been delegated to state and local authorities the Indians have lost much and gained little. Arizona, New Mexico, and Nevada certainly are not yet ready themselves to render the necessary social and economic services for the Indians, partly because they lack the resources for it, partly because the white people do not yet appreciate the need for it, although in Arizona there seems to be a growing understanding of the economic value of the Navajos to the state.

The attitude of the Indians toward the whites also varies greatly. I have an impression that this attitude depends in no small measure on the character and personality of the employees in the Indian Service who have been in charge of the Indians. At the Atlantic City Conference called last December by the Indian Rights Association, Miss Julia Lathrop emphasized the necessity of sending trained workers to help the Indians, and she added that the training should include courses in manners. Some Indian Service employees whose intentions are, I believe, good, have a manner which inevitably stirs resentment and prevents success. The Indians are quick to take umbrage. On the other hand, I have seen instances in which employees with friendly sympathetic manners have in an almost incredibly short time conquered the bitterness and ill-feeling that have been engendered by tactless predecessors.

Despite all these differences I think we can recognize one or two general principles which should govern in a modernized Indian Service.

The first is that full consideration should be given to the wishes of the Indians. For many Indians I believe in the policy of hastening absorption into our white civilization, because they want to get established economically and there is no other way. On the other hand, the conservative members of the Rio Grande Pueblos do not want to be absorbed. For more than four hundred years they have been in contact with the whites and yet they retain much of their distinctive culture, modified to be sure, but none the less treasured and revered. It would be a great mistake to attempt to force them into a new channel. Here the procedure should be to continue to help them by the irrigation work of the Indian Service and the visiting nurses of the Eastern Indian Association.

In formulating for our survey report a statement of the objectives of the Indian work we found it necessary to state them in alternative form. We said:

> The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian Service be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of that word and that it be made an efficient educational agency, devolving its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency.

For the great majority of Indians absorption into the prevailing civilization is the only practicable objective, for the old has gone beyond recall. The Indians probably would not recall it even if they could, for they are forward looking. But there is a minority who still have the old and cherish it. They are entitled to every consideration and to all the help that can be extended to them in preserving their art and their culture in the face of our modern standardized civilization. For each jurisdiction we must have a special program tailor made to fit the conditions there. The facts regarding the Indians to be served must determine the service rendered.

Students of government administration distinguish between organization and personnel. Our view is that the individual jurisdiction must be the unit of organization. The superintendent of the jurisdiction must be responsible for the administration of that unit and must have commensurate authority subject to proper supervision from Washington. Under him must be a local organization specially adapted to carrying on the local program under local conditions. The central Washington office should not try to administer the local details, because a man sitting at a desk in Washington cannot possibly deal intelligently with details. The Washington office should have a staff of specialists who can aid and advise the superintendents in their local problems and who can report to the commissioner on the progress being made and on the need for changes.

The chief need of the Indian field service is for a better trained personnel, more experienced in the difficult task of bringing about human adjustments. Already marked improvement has resulted from the gradual replacement of untrained field matrons by trained visiting nurses. In many jurisdictions there is an opportunity for the trained family case worker, a type of worker not now found in the Indian Service. Except that on its staff are some good people in the field of health, the Indian Service has been little touched by modern developments in social service.

I could give almost innumerable illustrations but one will have to suffice. Indian boys and girls have been taken way from their homes and sent to boarding schools, congregate institutions possessing many of the characteristics that socially minded person have been endeavoring for years to eliminate from institutions for the care of dependent children. In these schools the children were subject to a militaristic routine. Children who needed above all else encouragement in initiative and in assuming responsibility were deprived of all opportunity to exercise and develop these qualities. The traditional American educational system with its emphasis on the three R's was to develop them, provided proper discipline could in the meantime be maintained by a strict routine strictly enforced. Until the children got through school all this strictness was maintained, and then they were graduated to complete freedom with no training or experience in the use of freedom. Then they were expected to find themselves jobs either at home on the reservation or in white communities.

Obviously, the situation calls for two types of employees: those for the schools who know how to encourage adolescent youth to develop self-reliance and those for the period just after school who understand vocational guidance and placement. Until the Indian Service supplies such workers, marked progress in adjusting Indian youth to modern civilization cannot be expected.

Improvement of personnel was emphasized throughout our report. Yet we tried to point out that the Indian Service now has many excellent employees. The surprising fact is that it has so many despite the low salaries and the adverse living conditions incident to the Service. Some of them lack technical equipment for their work yet are possessed of a fine spirit, marked natural ability, and sound common sense. Often they are handicapped by the passion of the Service for uniformity and by the myriad rules and regulations emanating from the Washington office which prevent the exercise of initiative, experimentation, and the development of a program specially adapted to local conditions.

Some people think that the situation calls for wholesale removals, but I do not subscribe to that view. A limited number of present employees are, to use the current phrase, hard boiled, and are contemptuous of Indians. Employees of that type should be eliminated. My impression is that the number of such employees is small. The good present employees, with their knowledge of Indians and their experience in dealing with them, should be blended with new trained employees who can bring to the Service the experience of other social agencies devoted to the advancement of retarded groups. The combination would bring better results more quickly and with far less friction than would any policy of wholesale removals and replacements.

What can the social workers of the country do to help the new administration in its efforts to modernize the Indian Service? My first suggestion is that they take an active interest in Indian affairs, because the Indian problem is the oldest and most direct social responsibility of the national government. That government indirectly affects many problems with which social workers are concerned. In Indian administration the national government is itself doing direct social work. Specialists in social work should study what the government is doing for Indians and should insist that the work be maintained at a reasonable standard.

The new administration, I believe, can be trusted to give the public the facts and to compare the work of the Indian Service with the comparable work of other progressive educational and social agencies. My hope is that the social workers of the country will study the reports from the Indian Service and demand full statements of conditions if they are not forthcoming. Somewhere must be found an enlightened public opinion which will demand that the Indian Service comply with at least reasonable minimum standards. Standards can be established for personnel and for the maintenance operation of institutions.

Social workers can help by demanding the establishment and observance of sound standards. They can help by cooperating with the Indian Service in establishing these sound standards.

Social workers in the Indian country or in cities to which Indians are migrating can help by cooperating with the Indian Service in rendering social service for Indians. The Indian Welfare Committee of California is giving us an excellent demonstration of what can be done by such cooperation both in aiding Indians and in improving the attitude of white communities toward the Indians and the attitude of the Indians toward their white neighbors.

If the national government is to place the Indian Service abreast of its best social agencies such as the Public Health Service, the Children's Bureau, and certain of the bureaus of the Department of Agriculture, it must make materially larger appropriations for a few years to come. Our view is that large appropriations for a few years will produce far better results and be far cheaper in the long run than inadequate appropriations prolonged indefinitely. Congress, I believe, will furnish the necessary funds if it can be made to see the need for sound standards and if it feels that a considerable body of interested and enlightened citizens demand such action. The great national educational agencies are interested in Indian education; the great national health agencies are interested in Indian health; but the Indian Service needs more than that: it needs the distinct contribution of modern social work in making individual adjustments and in helping families and communities. Friends of the Indians must look to the National Conference of Social Work for support in this indispensable part of the new program.

AS AN INDIAN SEES IT

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AMONG the interesting romance tales of the American Indians a fragment of one is as follows: "A certain youth went out one day into the wilderness and suddenly encountered ten men feasting on game. Upon detecting his presence they gave him a cordial invitation to join the feast. They turned out to be the ten sons of Wakanjah (thunder and lightning spirit). He learned that they were on their way to a distant tribe to ask for the hand of a beautiful daughter of the chief. He was persuaded to join them in the adventure. After the feast they took leave and far outstripped him for they were traveling with the rapidity of lightning, but after many adventures the youth arrived at the encampment. The youth won the beautiful daughter and forthwith carried her off. The angry mother gave chase. When the pursuit became precarious, the young man released a pair of magic moccasins to go to the end of the earth, shot two arrows into a tree, simultaneously effecting the disappearance of himself and his companion. The mother soon came up, viewed the arrows, and, soliloquizing, said: 'Here years ago a hunter overshot his arrows into this tree for a deer. The tree is in process of decay. The arrows are bent and weatherworn. Alas,' continued she, 'my daughter is far from home and I must overtake them'; and, seeing the foot tracks, she betook herself to the end of the earth, only to find there an empty pair of moccasins. In the meanwhile the youth arrived safely home with his prize to the lodges of his fathers."

To many this story may be pointless, but to me it illustrates clearly the impressions I have had all these years respecting the relationship of the Indian race to that of the dominant white

Americans. There has been a lack of true appraisement, an adequate scientific analysis and diagnosis of the Indian problem. In its place there have been shallow experimentation, a kaleidoscopic change of nostrums and panaceas. It is no wonder to me that, inasmuch as the Congress of the United States and the American people have not been given true knowledge of the actual situation among our Indians, and not realizing the magnitude of the task, sums have been appropriated wholly insufficient to take care of the needs. Certain logical consequences have followed, which could not have been avoided. While there have been no noticeable advances in the amount of appropriations, owing to the growth in population and increase of the revenues from taxation, those charged with the management of our Indian affairs have been so poorly paid that trained and competent service has been impossible to secure. We have made the office of the commissioner of Indian affairs the football of politics, and having so determined the status of this major office, politics has permeated the entire service, down through the ranks, for many years. This office in its relations to Congress has fostered a spirit of apprehension and uncertainty, which has resulted in what I should term as the practice of building up regional balances of power in every branch of the service, for protection and security of office tenure.

In order to appreciate the need of social welfare work among our Indian people (by social welfare I do not mean to restrict the term to work for the poor and the delinquent, but rather to efforts for human betterment all along the line, such as the releasing of the latent possibilities of human personality), it is necessary to explain some of the aspects of the ward-guardian relationship existing between the Indian and the government.

The Indian race has been subjected to a lot of experimentation by the guardian. After military subjugation, the reservation method was tried. This policy of Indian isolation sprang from considerations of selfish altruism. It has been an axiom that no race can long remain in complete isolation from the rest of mankind and endure. This policy at once put the Indian out of step with the rest of human progress. Development did not and could not proceed from the interplay of competitive standards and sanctions of society, but approximated only to the peak of tribal attainment. It is well to note in passing that many of the reservations were barren lands, incapable of responding to the efforts of human toil. An economic background that is nothing but harsh has many a social implication that should not be overlooked in any appraisement of the situation. It should be a matter of no surprise to anyone to know that the average annual income of individual Indians is only $200 a year.

From the policy, first, of subjugation and, second, of segregation into reservations, the practice, third, of changing policies began; with the quick succession of incoming administrations there has been tried upon the Indian race one panacea after another. The incumbent is a successful business man at one time, a politician at another, a cattleman, a member of Congress, or one up from the ranks of the Service itself. At one time the catchword of the administration is "the tribal herd"; at another "competency commissions"; at still another "fee patents" and "increased land sales" or "save the babies" (a wonderful slogan, if only it had been carried out), and at still another "the breaking up of the young generation from reservation life into employment as domestic servants for girls and industrial labor for boys."

In the *Saturday Evening Post* of June 8, under the heading "Uncle Sam Has a New Indian Policy," the statement is made that "farming on the reservation is largely a failure," and that "the development of the Indian into a farmer has largely failed and should cease to be a favorite scheme for his emancipation." The gentleman writing for the new Secretary of the Interior evidently has never seen a Pima, a Hopi, or a Pueblo Indian farmer. In a semidesert country these Indians have mastered the art of dry farming and irrigation. Given sufficient water their success would have been phenomenal. As for the reservations which are productive farming areas, it is to be noted that it is far easier (and the supporting evidence for this fact is overwhelming) for the Indian Bureau officials to transact leases and land sales than to undertake systematically the long, patient process of educating and training Indians into ownership farming. That mass pressure influence from so many whites having the power of the vote, attempting to lease and purchase Indian lands while they were still cheap, readily explains, I believe, the strong inducement for officials to grant patents in fee, with their consequent sale and loss as the only basis of economic self-support which the Indian had. The educational deficiencies of the so called practical farmer employed by the Indian Bureau on Indian Reservations have already been shown by the *Report* of the Institute for Government Research. Moreover, there has never been any school provided under the Indian Bureau where an Indian student could get a thoroughgoing agricultural education with which he could go back to the reservation and make a success. To get this it is necessary for the Indian to go into white institutions. A critical examination of the course of study, educational history, and qualifications of agricultural teachers now in the Indian Service will bear out this statement. These Indian schools lack accreditment. Only within the last few months have there been appointed into the Indian Bureau service nine supervising agricultural teachers, corresponding in point of qualifications and caliber to those of our county farmer agents. It is a pleasure in this connection to express recognition of the splendid training in agriculture and the industries given the Indian student by the Hampton Institute, in the years during which Indians were admitted there. The conspicuous success of some of their graduates should give much food for thought.

The system of Bureau control is, in itself, an expression of the form and genius of our government, functioning as it does through departments and bureaus. It need not ever have become a Bureau given over largely to the administering of the Indian affairs. Unfortunately, this type of control has operated to restrict, depress, and submerge the personality of the Indian. Every student of Indian history will admit its tendency to the destruction of initiative and the discouragement of ambition. The care of Indian property now absorbing the major attention of the Bureau (admitting that this is a vast task in itself) is nevertheless insignificant as compared with the task of carrying on an all-inclusive educational program. The one requires but a minimum training of clerical efficiency and a mastery of a certain mechanical technique. A sufficient number of office rules and regulations takes care of the routinization process. The other postulates a trained personnel, skilful in the science of human care and development. This aspect of the work of the teacher is of incalculable importance. The former of these two methods puts emphasis on mere property because this is the way of least resistance. I am reminded here of Professor Sumner's discovery of the "eighth wonder of the world." He used to express it thus at Yale: "The marvelous power of the human mind to resist the introduction of knowledge." Before this force it is comparatively easy to yield. With the center of authority and control located several thousand miles from the scene of operations, the system becomes a "paper" task, rather than a face-to-face, hand-to-hand grappling with human problems. The educational opportunity, which under ordinary circumstances one would have utilized, aided by the conditioning local factors, the interplay of actions and reactions of the person in the case, has all been lost in a thousand cases. In its stead there has been a cold, legal interpretation.

Why do the technicalities of law, in a multitude of cases, override the possibilities of statesmanlike solution of a problem and so often render impossible the application of established principles of social procedure? The answer to this question, and the cause of the failure to make "doer-thinkers" out of the Indian race, is contained, in part, in a remark of a presiding officer at a conference of superintendents and farmers in the Indian Service, when he said: "Men, in this service, self-protection is half of your problem." What may the nation expect from one who, instead of exemplifying the spirit of constructive service for which he was enlisted, spends his time building defensive walls behind his back, ever solicitous for the safety of his position? Referring, no doubt, to such a one as this, an Indian said in council, "I plead that I be allowed to make my own mistakes, rather than that another make them for me." Referring to the house building program of the Service, another Indian said in council, “These fine looking Indian homes you see are ‘bought’ homes, not ‘earned’ homes. The Government officials like to build these homes out of heirship monies, because they make an apparent showing of progress. But truly the Indians here only learned how to speak English and do not know how to make a living.” As a matter of fact, in this very move the Indian has been denied actual entrance into the furnace of experience out of which he might have forged a character. He should have some way enjoyed that fine sense that a habitation of his own, worthy the admiration of his fellows, had been created. One might go on interminably, showing the effect on character brought about by the loss of the benefits of economic self-support from leases and land sales, individual capital funds tied up in tribal restriction, taxation imposed upon the Indian beyond his capacity to pay, the practice of secrecy relative to the Indian’s own affairs, duress, and such like.

President Hoover has said, “The days of the pioneer are not over. There are continents of human welfare, of which we have penetrated only the coastal plain.” Far back in the recesses of the continent there lies this Indian race, hungry for the grasp of the hand of social understanding.

If ever a race needs a change of emphasis for the birth of a new freedom, it is the Indian in America. The cry of the Indian today is for the release of his person and of his personality.

There has never been any organized, concerted, or systematic movement for social welfare among our Indian people. The task before the nation is the assumption of a freeing relationship. As we dig about a plant to release its powers, to appropriate the vitality of sun, rain, and atmosphere, so must the soil of Indian personality be prepared. A far worthier conception of Indian capacity than that hitherto entertained, combined with that compelling sense of honor of Americans in their relation to their red brother, will open this door of the new freedom for the race. Psychologically speaking, experience is the dynamo station also for the Indian. Concrete activities generate that indispensable will and purpose for him also. If we postulate that the power and guidance for life's daily living are found for one out of the very concrete activities in which he is engaged, by no process of reasoning can we build up an exception for the Indian race in this regard. All things being equal, the action patterns built up over a period of time from certain past stimuli for the Indian, correspond in results identically with those of the white race. Whatever will stimulate the initiative and create an adequate incentive for life, or operate for the destruction of the same, for any other race will be found applicable to the American Indian.

We have seen that the effect of living on unearned income from leasing and land sales results in the creation of a growing number of landless Indians, and that there is now going on a drift toward the cities. With but few exceptions, the great majority of these have come to locate in the poorest and most undesirable districts and there to mingle with those living at the bottom of the social scale. In truth, these Indians will be assimilated, but at what social level and with what profit will it be to the social life of that city? Is it of no concern to America that these shifting Indian populations shall enter into our cosmopolitan life on a desirable social level? Will the few dollars they shall earn as common day laborers compensate for the unsanitary and unhygienic conditions of their surroundings? At the existing wage scales for common labor, will they ever save anything beyond their most urgent physical needs?

In China the common custom in a drought is, I am told, "to drag out the rain god from his shady temple into the blistering sun, to convince him of the necessity of a downpour." Such "direct action" and overpowering superstition may belong in Peking; certainly not here. But were I possessed of some skill at legerdemain, I would be tempted to bring the great American power of scientific research and procedure up directly against the crying need of the Indian race for a new era of social control. What a boon it would be, should the leaders of thought in all branches of social sciences address themselves to a cautious, but alert, inquiry into all phases of Indian welfare! The new impetus! What may it not mean in the way of enlightened, sympathetic, coactive relationship with the Indian race, as against so much dominion and bureaucracy! The task would not be one of muddle and fleeting remedies, but an imperative challenge to its businesslike, social, and inspirational solution. In the face of impatience of the Indian problem in some quarters, I appeal to the sportsmanlike qualities of the American mind and to the deep sense of honor of our people for the glorious completion of this the nation's task!

CHANGING PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD CITIZENSHIP BY ADOPTION

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IT IS generally conceded that this country has been generous in granting citizenship to the foreign born. In the early days aliens were welcome not only as laborers but also as citizens. Barring exceptions, the colonists conferred all the privileges of citizenship upon newcomers; in fact, their attitude was so favorable that in the Declaration of Independence it was stated that one of their principal grievances was that the English crown was "obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners." In the first Federal Naturalization Law, enacted in 1790, they set forth very simple prerequisites: those seeking admittance had to be "free white persons," of good moral character, and must have resided in this country two years.

This liberality of attitude and practice prevailed nearly throughout the nineteenth century. The phrase "free white persons" in practice applied to status rather than to color or race. This is proved by the facts that Negroes were admitted to citizenship as soon as they were freed from slavery; that citizenship was conferred upon the whole body of inhabitants of territories as they were annexed, regardless of race or color (except in the case of the uncivilized tribes of Alaska—also status); that the citizens of the former Hawaiian republic were made American citizens, as were also the Porto Ricans, many of whom were colored; while partial citizenship was conferred upon the Filipinos. The Chinese were also admitted.

It is true that at various times, particularly in the heat of the post-Civil-War period, attempts were made to alter this attitude and practice, but they were ineffectual. All free persons of good moral character who had fulfilled the residence requirements continued to be admitted into citizenship.

This liberality, however, led, during the latter part of the last century, to laxity and corruption. The mills of political candidates and party organizations ground exceedingly rapidly and in extraordinary ways: The alien was hastily made ready, his petition was prepared and sworn out for him, his witnesses supplied, and he was rushed thrŏugh the formalities, the foreigner himself being merely a gaping and bewildered participant. In some cases even these formalities were dispensed with; the alien was simply handed forged or otherwise fraudulent naturalization papers, and lo! he became a citizen. In some courts aliens became citizens at the rate of fifty or sixty an hour; while voters' lists, particularly in the large cities, were padded with names of persons who had fulfilled the requirements not at all. Two judges in New York City are said to have naturalized an average of 1,147 persons daily for a period of twenty-three days before an election.[1]

Our present attitude represents the other extreme, and in correcting the practices referred to, we inflict punishment upon the would-be citizen. An element of our contemporary philosophy is represented by the faith we place in legal requirements. Whereas formerly we made the path smooth and exceedingly easy, we now make it as thorny and difficult as possible. We seem to believe that the more stumbling blocks we erect, the more readily will Sinner Alien reach the temple of citizenship, and the more saintly will he be when he emerges from the sanctuary. Even when I became a citizen, fifteen years ago, one felt bewildered by petitions, examinations, hearings, witnesses, depositions, and prolonged waitings in naturalization inspectors' offices; all of which tended to lessen rather than increase respect for the government and the people of the United States, while it was in no way a preparation for genuine citizenship.

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[1] Cf. Stephenson, *History of American Immigration*, p. 244.

Our faith in legal requirements, moreover, has steadily increased. We now demand certificates of arrival, detailed proofs of residence, preliminary petitions, hearings, certificates of citizenship, certificates of derivative citizenship, witnesses for residence without a country, examinations before the court; and we demand also photographs and signatures. All this bewilders the would-be citizen, and makes him feel as if it were almost a crime to seek citizenship. In addition, we make adopted citizenship so expensive as to render it in many cases prohibitive. Whereas once $5.00 was the total cost, we now have fees for every move the alien makes toward naturalization. After July 1, 1929, it will cost the alien who has met all the requirements of legal entrance $20.00 to become naturalized; while the person who, through his own or some one else's ignorance or error, may have failed to meet these requirements, will have to pay $40.00, to say nothing of other sums he has to pay along the way. Even $20.00 is no inconsiderable sum for the average alien.

The third element in our contemporary philosophy is our belief in coercion. While much of the coercive temper of six or seven years ago has disappeared, much of it still remains. The *pronunciamentos* of some national orders and organizations clearly reveal this fact. Much of the coercion, moreover, is indirect and subtle. In some quarters we refuse to give aliens employment; in others we give them unfavorable treatment; we keep them under the threat of deportation in the event of poverty or distress; we make them pay a higher income tax—when they have enough to pay any tax; we refuse them pensions or the right to own property; through their wives and children we bring pressure to bear upon them; through the immigration laws we inflict penalties upon them.[2] Business establishments, courts, clubs, national orders, and even churches bring indirect pressure to bear. Of course, this method does drive some into formal legal citizenship, but it makes many more really alien at heart; it drives many to intrenched separation and indifference, while others do become citizens only to join the ranks of opportunists and hypocrites.

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[2] Cf. Gosnell, "Non-naturalization," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1928.

Taking these elements together, we realize how contradictory is our position. On the one hand, we make it as difficult as possible for the alien to become a citizen. We place legal and economic stumbling blocks in his way and make citizenship an expensive luxury, while at the same time we bring all the possible pressure to bear, directly or indirectly, to force him to seek citizenship. I am inclined to the belief that many foreigners regard the whole naturalization process simply as a method by which an already overrich uncle seeks to deprive foreigners of the little they have. And, considering all the difficulties involved, the wonder is, not that half of the 14,000,000 foreign born residing in this country in 1920 remained unnaturalized, but that their number was not larger.

Recently, another element of our philosophy regarding adopted citizenship has appeared; namely, our fear that adopted citizens may effect fundamental changes in our national theories and practices, and that therefore it behooves us to be careful whom we admit. This fear traces back to the days immediately following the war when we began to build all kinds of "pictures in the head" (to use Walter Lippmann's telling phrase) with reference to the foreign born. We went considerably out of our way to prove his so called "social inadequacy," but we now mistrust him for what he may hold in his mind. The recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Madame Rosika Schwimmer makes this clear. Justice Holmes, in a dissenting opinion, points out that here is an applicant who seems to be "a woman of superior character and intelligence, obviously more than ordinarily desirable as a citizen of the United States. It is agreed that she is qualified for citizenship . . . ." But she believes that the Constitution of the United States can be improved, "her particular improvement looking to the abolition of war. . . ." For this we refuse her admission.

We now refuse admission not alone to persons who are clearly undesirable, not alone to criminals, to those who cannot read our language, to those who are not of good moral character, to the so called unassimilable, but we are beginning to question whether we should admit anyone who differs from the majority opinion even in matters of social reform. Justice Holmes states that "if there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us, but freedom for the thought that we hate . . . . and that we should adhere to that principle with regard to admission into as well as to life within this country." We have distinctly departed from this principle, and no one knows how far this will lead us.

Perhaps the most striking and far reaching feature of our attitude is found in our insistence upon singling out one race for exclusion from the privileges of citizenship. As we have seen, all the races are now admitted—all but the Asiatics. The movement traces back to the 1860–70 decade, when Labor began to agitate against the Chinese. It gained ground when in 1878 a circuit court declared Chinese inadmissible, and again when Congress enacted the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882, which decreed "that hereafter no State Court or Court of the United States shall admit Chinese to Citizenship." This categorical racial discrimination was gradually extended during the pre-war and especially during the post-war period. In 1922, in the heat of the post-war reactionary movement, the Japanese were declared ineligible; in 1923, the Hindus; and, in 1925, a decision of the Supreme Court even canceled the citizenship of Chinese and Japanese who served the United States in the World War and received citizenship as a reward, the Supreme Court stating that the phrase "any person of foreign birth" in the laws of 1918 and 1919 which granted that citizenship did not mean "any person," but "any person eligible to citizenship."

"To the Laymen," says Professor Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, "it seems strange not to say unjust, that high caste Hindus and Orientals with college and university degrees should be barred." Yes, it does seem strange that we of other races and nationalities, with limited abilities and a smattering of English, should by a superficial compliance with the laws be admitted, while a Natobe, a Tagore, or a Gandhi should be categorically excluded.

I have attempted to adhere strictly to an objective analysis of our philosophy with respect to citizenship by adoption. I may, in closing, be permitted to make a brief comment. First, I believe that the various negative elements of our attitude do not represent the sentiment of the majority of the United States, but only reflect the determined will of a self-centered minority who, out of ignorance, distrust if not hate all foreigners. Particularly, I believe that the exclusion of persons on the basis of color or race does not represent the real spirit of America. Finally, I wish to re-emphasize that our present attitude and practice is a distinct departure from the generous attitude and practice of the early days, and that in so far we are denying the faith of our fathers. Nations, like other organizations, tend with age to become grooved and to be so involved with the processes of perpetuating and fortifying themselves that they forget the purposes for which they came into being. When that stage is reached, it behooves the socially minded citizen to examine the contemporary position, to reexamine the original aims, and to remember, with Lord Acton, that "the great question is to discover, not what governments prescribe, but what they ought to prescribe; for no prescription is valid against the conscience of mankind."

FOREIGN MIGRATIONS WITHIN UNITED STATES TERRITORY: THE SITUATION OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

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Culture backgrounds.—He who would know the Filipino immigrant must study him as a product of four major cultures. He is basically Malayan, ranging from ancient and primitive to highly developed technical levels of culture. His people represent a strong Chinese infusion, of both culture and blood. Chinese business men have long cultivated the Philippine markets, and racial admixtures have occurred over and over. There have been three centuries of infiltration of Spanish and Latin culture, and racial admixtures of this type have been many. More recently, there have been three decades of American (and Anglo-Saxon) educational, business, and political influence. The Filipino thus is an interesting combination of the oriental and the occidental. Malay and Chinese, Latin and Anglo-Saxon: a real cosmopolite. In him the East and West have met.

A race relations cycle.—Another picture to keep in mind in considering the Filipino immigrant is the characteristic American set of reactions to conspicuously different immigrants, that is, to immigrants of noticeably different color or culture, or both. This set of reactions may be called a race relations cycle. There is, first, sympathetic curiosity in strangers evidently away from home; there is, second, an indirect economic welcome as evidenced in high wages and superior living and working conditions, known as the American standard of living. There develops, on the other hand, third, industrial antagonism aroused by the presence of numbers of immigrants willing to work for longer hours and less wages than American standards permit; and, fourth, social opposition, due sometimes to rapid invasion of strange immigrants, sometimes to culture traits of "invaders" that are deemed inimical to American principles of life, government, and religion, sometimes to invasion of American neighborhoods by these immigrants as home-owners, renters, or even as church builders, sometimes to high birth-rates. A fifth phase of this race relations cycle is the spread of propaganda depicting the worst about the "invaders" and suppressing the best; a sixth is the passing of restrictive, or exclusion, legislation against the immigrant race, irrespective of their feelings or of the feelings of their home people. Another phase is, seventh, characterized by unfavorable reactions by the given immigrants, their home people, and their children. The Filipino immigrant has already faced the first four phases of this race relations cycle.

Industrial relations.—Objections to Filipino immigrants were first voiced publicly in 1927 on the Pacific Coast. At that time American workers began to protest openly that they were being supplanted by Filipinos as bell boys, elevator boys, culinary trade workers, and as coastwise seamen. Organized labor in such states as California and Washington acted on these complaints, issued public remonstrances, raised the slogan that "they work longer hours for less wages," and urged the exclusion of further Filipino immigrant laborers from the United States. The American Federation of Labor in 1927 and again in 1928 memorialized Congress to this effect; a bill was introduced into Congress (House Bill 13900) by Congressman Welsh in May, 1928, which would provide for such exclusion. Organized labor, the watchdog of American labor standards of living, has taken the lead in urging Filipino exclusion. It has pointed out the dangers of the present unlimited possibilities of Filipino immigration, and has contended that a million or two million Filipino laborers (within the range of possibility), would overwhelm American labor on the coast.

Until recently Filipinos figured more largely in urban than rural labor situations, but in May, 1929, W. J. French, of the

California Commission of Industrial Relations, reported that Filipinos had succeeded to first place among immigrants in average numbers in 352 labor camps of California (inspected during April, 1929). Mexicans shifted back to second place.

Filipinos are not well fitted to do heavy work. They move from heavy rural labor to the lighter forms, such as work in asparagus, celery, onions; and to the lighter types of city activities already cited. They are ambitious to get ahead economically, but they have difficulty in maintaining good teamwork in their labor requests. Considerable seasonal unemployment among them is reported. Turnover is high. An influx of Filipinos above the demands for their labor is also evident; this will doubtless have some effect in regulating the immigration of Filipinos (both from the Philippines and Hawaii).

The actual number of Filipinos in the United States is still not large. A conservative estimate may be placed at 75,000, with numbers around 7,000 in California centers such as San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Stockton. It is further estimated that the annual influx to the United States is around 10,000, with additional thousands entering the Hawaiian Islands annually, many of whom will later come to the mainland. It is the million or two who might come which disturbs organized labor, and which urges labor to take an extremist stand of proposing a change from the present unlimited immigration possibility to a complete exclusion of Filipinos. Employers of labor in Hawaii and on the mainland are opposed in the main to Filipino exclusion. They want a large supply of cheap labor, and hence are alarmed at the exclusion movement. Chambers of commerce are the leaders in this attitude.

Social Relations.—The Filipino immigrant has never been immune from attacks of American race prejudice, partly because of his oriental appearance. One of the latest illustrations of the problem occurred in Seattle, where the Filipino Club of the state university has tried to purchase a home for a clubhouse but where it is alleged the purchase was prevented by neighbors who brought pressure to bear upon the American owner. Filipinos are denied status in many American homes, except as laborers. They are denied admission to many types of social gatherings, such as the best class of dance halls. They are frequently made to feel an alleged inferiority.

Filipinos are in the United States, mostly as young men between seventeen and thirty years of age. Only a small percentage are women, perhaps less than 5 per cent. As a result, they live in rooming house groups, without family life. They are lovers of music and seek comfort with their musical instruments. They naturally become homesick. Quick response is made to a friendly attitude shown them by American young women. When the latter, out of a sympathetic interest in strangers away from home, take a kindly interest in the Filipinos, many of these wide-awake young men not only respond but persist in their attentions until the situation becomes embarrassing. There are numerous unfavorable reports of this character.

For social life the Filipino is often induced to turn to the lower grade dance halls, where he becomes the victim of "cheap" women. He turns to pool halls and gambling places, where he wastes time and savings. The need for recreation halls, clubrooms, and home life for the Filipino immigrant is very great. Private agencies are doing good work, but such opportunities as they offer are entirely inadequate.

The Filipino is charged with being unassimilable, but this generalization is hardly fair. His culture has all been acquired, of course, and hence is subject to change. He is already partly Anglo-Saxon and Latin when he comes. He brings and keeps a marked loyalty to the Philippine Islands, somewhat after the fashion of the Englishman's loyalty to his island home, or the Canadian's loyalty to the empire on our north. If living and working conditions in the United States and if American attitudes are favorable enough, he is assimilable. If conditions and attitudes are unfavorable, then he cannot be expected to change his loyalty. His assimilability depends largely on Americans.

The Filipino immigrant experiences a social adjustment cycle. The first stage is almost universally that of excitement, dreams of gigantic success, of "get rich quick," even of becoming an owner of a height limit building. The second stage sometimes comes on rapidly. It is characterized by chagrin and disillusionment. Long hours of labor, much patience, periods of unemployment, prejudice thrusts are all experienced. The third phase is either one of adjustment or of complete discouragement. The better educated are able to make the necessary adjustments, at least until their education is completed and they are ready to return to the islands. The less educated and the untrained often fail to save money and become stranded without having made any worth while American friends. They sink in the mire of the cheap dance hall and of "the gambling joint."

Legislative angles.—The bill now before Congress declares the Filipino to be an alien. Since he is not recognized as a Caucasian or an African or of African descent, he is not eligible to citizenship, according to a Supreme Court decision in 1925 (except Filipinos who have served in the American navy three years). The new bill thus would put Filipinos in the class of "aliens ineligible to citizenship." The United States already has a law (1924) stating that aliens ineligible to citizenship are excluded (except limited classes, such as students, officials, visitors). *Ipso facto,* the Filipinos would be excluded from the United States.

What are the merits of the measure? It is doubtless true that Filipinos are furnishing serious labor competition in limited quarters, that there are a million or two who are potentially available as immigrants, that they are coming in faster than the normal labor demands suggest, that there is considerable seasonal and other unemployment together with economic dissatisfaction and misery endured by them, that some Filipino leaders in both the islands and the United States do not longer favor a large immigration of Filipinos to the United States.

The present situation provides for unlimited immigration of Filipinos, which is an extreme situation. To become frightened and go to the other extreme and exclude all is equally unwise. Some restriction of Filipino immigration, however, is doubtless needed, but how shall it be secured?

The exclusion plan naturally offends Filipinos. It lowers their status in the eyes of the world. It comes at a most unfortunate time—when they are particularly sensitive about being denied independence repeatedly. It violates the respect that a powerful nation is expected to show its ambitious protégés. To be denied independence is bad enough, but to be excluded also is to have insult added to injury.

A proposed solution.—The plan to switch from one extreme to another, from unlimited immigration to exclusion, is revolutionary not evolutionary. Some definite degree of social control, however, seems to be needed. But control intrinsically developed where the problem originates, rather than control imposed where the problem culminates, is socially scientific.

It may be suggested, therefore, that a bureau of emigration, or similar agency, be established in the Philippines. The Philippine legislature and the governor general could develop a procedure whereby emigration to the United States and Hawaii could be controlled. No more passports need be granted than conditions in the United States and Hawaii would justify. Through the Department of Labor in Washington, studies could be carried on with reference to Filipino labor conditions on the coast and scientific data be furnished to the bureau of emigration and the governor general of the Philippines, for their guidance in issuing passports. If the economic conditions in the Philippines were developed and wage opportunities were bettered, Filipinos would not seek to emigrate to the extent that they do now.

President Coolidge and Secretary of State Kellogg have announced what amounts to a new immigration policy, which may now be applied to the Philippines. They state that legislation regarding Mexican immigrants, for instance, must take into consideration the attitudes of Mexican leaders and of the Mexican government, that the good will of Mexico is a major phase of the situation. In other words, the policy of treating immigration legislation as purely a domestic affair was repudiated, and a new policy was inaugurated of giving consideration to the attitudes of the people involved. It is logical that the Philippine government be enabled to take the initiative and to solve the problem involved where it originates. It can thereby save its own status in the matter. Since it functions under the jurisdiction of the United States government, full protection can be accorded to the standard of living of American workmen on the coast and elsewhere.

PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS FOR COUNCIL AND CHEST EXECUTIVES

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BEFORE approaching professional standards we must see what these positions are, outline their requirements and responsibilities, determine whether they belong in the profession of social work, and if so what these standards should be, place the responsibility if possible for the filling of these positions with persons with proper professional standards, and face the practical problems, if such persons are not available, of seeing how others can be prepared.

Ever since the federation in Cleveland in 1913, successful chests and councils have had executives and staffs. Some of these executives have been unusual factors not only in the success of the chest and council in their cities but in the sound development of the movement throughout the country.

There are chests or councils or both in some 315 cities in the United States and Canada, most of which have executives. This means that our discussion of standards is extremely practical in that more than 300 persons are now in the field, not counting the subexecutives in the larger cities, and that each year cities are added, staffs are increased, some ineffective executives withdraw.

Since the success of any federation or any executive must be measured in terms of the accomplishments in social work, success is relatively dependent upon a number of things: First, the previous history of social work in the community has an unusual bearing on the federation. Second, how was the federation organized? Is the organization plan workable? Finally, has a competent executive been secured before the organization plans were completed? Is this person equipped to see and to make others see that we must face the vital part of the cooperative movement in social work, that of effecting a community plan for social work with all that is involved in re-educating ourselves and our constituencies to a community rather than an individual approach to the organization of social work.

The standards for the council and chest executive are considered together since, if we really are interested in a community plan for social work, both social agency and financial groups can best work through the financing and program making together. In practice in small cities one person has to do both jobs, and in most large cities the staffs are interlocking.

Undoubtedly, one of the reasons why we sometimes have persons quite unprepared for chest or council positions engaged by boards of directors is that the boards have no picture of just what the position involves. The following outline of the work of chests and councils is submitted in the absence of a complete job analysis in a number of chests and councils, as indicative of what the executive is responsible either for doing or for delegating to someone else.

The council and chest executive job includes the usual administrative duties of an executive, the plan of organization, division of responsibilities, and selection of a staff, the use of the members of the board, other agency board members, social workers, and volunteers for committee work. Where the staff is too small to do the usual work of a chest and council a choice must be made as to the order in which the work is tackled. The work primarily associated with joint finance is in connection with the chest campaign, collections, the consideration of agency budgets, standards of work in the agencies, the question of duplication of work, the elimination of agencies, the admission of agencies, decisions concerning capital fund campaigns, and year-round educational publicity programs.

The council is concerned especially with a plan for social work worked out through discussion by functional groups, special studies involving the responsibilities of public and private social work, the place of national agencies on the local programs, the elimination of outworn or duplicating agencies, the planning for unmet needs, standards of work, agency interrelations, and is interested in the kinds of educational publicity and in the relationship of social work to legislative program, to church, and to civic organizations, the business and industrial development of the city, wages, and the cost of living. Where councils have direct service activities like the confidential exchange they are staffed as if they were separate agencies.

The chest campaign involves organization, securing the best persons from the business and financial groups, getting and keeping at work a huge body of solicitors, determining on the kind of campaign, the prospect system and check-up, the organization for big gifts, for special and general solicitation; the estimate of the goal, based on the approximate number of gifts of each size probable, what the agencies have spent, the expansion desirable and the expansion probable that year in view of local business conditions, the publicity plans for the campaign, the keynote and campaign strategy, preparation of the campaign budget, estimate of supplies, purchasing, organization of staff, and the campaign audit. Through the year we have the collection system and any permanent organization.

Under the head of budgets comes the year-round monthly financial reports and service statistics, the annual audits, the organization of a budget committee not only annually to conduct open hearings and to consider budgets but to supervise the monthly appropriations. Material must more and more be made available to budget committees so that they may consider each budget in its place in the entire community program for social work; so that they may compare unit costs and correlate these costs with the standards of work, so that there may be a check on how much high-type service a certain budget for expansion will buy, as a check to the approval of glorious plans that an agency cannot deliver; so that they may consider the bearing of any studies that have been made on the budget; so that they may know the relative amount of income from earnings that may be expected from hospitals, public health and nursing agencies and the amount of board for children; and so that they may check to see that self-supporting departments are really self-supporting. The budget committee must consider the relation of the private and public agencies and what efforts shall be made to turn over to public support types of work generally recognized as public responsibilities; to what extent shall they continue budgets for duplicating agencies; what shall be their attitude toward appropriating to national agencies. This information that the budget committee needs is material the council is working on, and the council program for social work will never go into effect if the budget committee of the chest considers budgets with no regard to this material.

The relationship between chest and council is equally significant in considering the admission of agencies to the chest in the light of whether they meet new and necessary needs; the elimination of agencies by combination, change of function, dissolution; the decision as to what agencies may have capital fund campaigns.

The large city chest and council can reasonably expect to budget for an adequate staff. As the size of the city decreases, the executive is apt to have fewer on the professional staff, and in the city of from 50,000 to 200,000 the executive has to handle all of the work with only clerical assistance. If cities under 50,000 are going to spend enough to secure a first class executive it usually means a combination with another executive social work position or with another city. In all these smaller cities an exceedingly well-equipped executive is necessary because of the additional difficulties of organizing one's time to carry the responsibilities of so many different types of work.

The desirable professional standards are those which will assure an adequate preparation for the work with the expectation of successful attainment on the job. At least six groups are primarily interested in securing the best possible persons for these positions, but probably not more than one group has assumed any continuous responsibility.

The business and contributing groups have a stake in the choice: the board members of all social agencies, but especially member agencies; other social workers in the community; the national agencies; the American Association of Community Chests and Councils and the individual chests and their executives; the schools of social work.

Social workers have a prime responsibility for seeing that the board of directors of chests and councils secures proper executives. This does not mean any official position, or waiting around to be consulted, but discussion of the duties involved, and the preparation of necessary and unofficial suggestions of where to secure such persons.

In considering preparation for these positions, the methods of entrance of the present successful executives are of less importance compared to the question of how to equip new persons. In the pioneer period of any movement, the leaders evolved their own equipment, but it is on their knowledge of what is involved that our program of education must be based.

First, are these things that chest and council executives do social work? Organization technique may be the same, but one must know the objectives of the agency for which he is organizing, and almost any citizen will agree that it is not raising the goal but financing good social work, and that the expenditure side is of major importance.

In the background work for a community plan for social work someone else may make the technical studies, but the executive must interpret and put the plan into effect. If the executive does not have the background for judgment on standards, needs, etc., as a part of a professional equipment, together with the professional attitude of keeping up with changes, and if the development of social work does not mean a great deal to the executive, the chest may skim along the surface with an outward appearance of success and never realize its possibilities as a cooperative agent in social work.

So far the schools of social work, with the exception of Ohio State University and the present summer term at the New York School of Social Work, have ignored these positions, not even mentioning them except under an omnibus heading, such as group work and community organization. We are indebted to Ohio State University for securing the full-time services of one of our chest and council executives, Mr. Charles C. Stillman, to head up their educational program. Next year this time we shall have the benefit of that curriculum and recruiting program.

The next remarks are in no way an outline of a course of study but suggest a method of approach.

Since these are social work positions, the professional standards for the executives should be no less than those required for senior membership in our professional organization—the American Association of Social Workers—which in all probability will involve two years of college work plus five years of general education, technical training, or social work experience. Since the schools have for many years sent out people in other fields of social work, many of whom can now be promoted to executive positions, the schools might recruit a limited number of present well-educated and experienced social work executives and have a year's graduate curriculum for chest and council work. In view of the number of fall campaigns, the work might well begin in February with four months in classwork and practical work in a chest and council, concentrating on council committee work and the year round work of the chest in educational publicity, administrative set-up, collections, accounting, financial and service reports, the monthly work of the budget committee; after that a month's vacation, then part classwork and work on the preparations for the budget consideration and for the campaign for the next four months; after that the continuing of a seminar and practically full-time work for two months on the campaign itself, the audit and accounting systems, the work of the budget committee in the final approval of the budgets. The final month would be for the discussion of special problems and policies arising from the preceding ten months' classwork and practice. Recent college graduates and others just entering social work wishing to specialize could take the regular course at a school of social work, with some specialization in community organization and research.

They could then work for at least two years and return for the specialized course.

In the question of recruiting these social work executives for further preparation, the writer wishes to suggest that adequately prepared and experienced women as well as men be secured. While the first thought of practically all chests and councils, as well as all other social agencies is always that it must be a man, yet in all of these fields women are successful executives. The writer is as much concerned as the men in the profession in not forcing even well equipped women into positions as cheap labor and as a factor in reducing salary standards. However, if the choice is between a well prepared woman and a superficially equipped man, then social work standards are depressed when the choice goes to the man, and it is of equal concern to the men and women in the profession. Here, too, the writer is liable to a label of prejudice, but from personal experience in the chest and council fields, none of the duties of the executive are such that they cannot be carried through by a woman.

All this may seem exceedingly theoretical and you may say that other fields of social work may not wish to contribute some of their executives to the movement, and that these executives will not want to risk a year of study. There are rewards in each case—other fields will profit by the sound development of the cooperative movement. A limited number of well chosen social work executives can at present afford to take a chance since there are openings in the smaller cities offering good salaries and unlimited opportunities for pioneering.

THE INTEGRATION OF SPECIALIZED FIELDS OF SOCIAL WORK IN PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

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SOCIAL work is developing so many specialties that the problem of integrating the training is constantly increasing. Each year further demands are made upon training schools for this or that specialized type of social work. Social case work has been divided into numerous specialized fields, and the exponents of these fields have spent days and weeks in attempting to determine the specific and generic forms of this phase of social work. Recreation has been organized into a dozen specialties, and the group work people have still to discover the relations between the generic and specific forms of leisure time activity. In addition, the situation is complicated by the numerous border-line jobs, combinations of the technique of some other profession with that of social work, such as public health administration, antituberculosis work, legal aid work, medical and psychiatric social work, the position of attendance officer and community center organizer in the school system, the parish worker, etc. The problem which a school of social work faces in preparation for the varied jobs in the field is becoming each day more difficult. On the one hand, the field demands a maximum of technical preparation for the job. The school usually meets this through providing supervised field work activities in an agency dealing with the particular type of problem in which the student is interested. The limitations which the school faces in providing adequate agency experience are marked. On the other hand, there is the even more difficult problem with which this paper is concerned, of developing a professional social worker, that is, a professional social worker as opposed to a technician in this or that field.

Historically, a number of the schools began with an interest in family case work. Gradually, the fundamental principles of family case work have been applied to other activities, and slowly out of this complex situation it has become apparent that there are fundamental principles applicable to all case work jobs. Family case work itself becomes a specialty in generic social case work. The primary problem that many of the schools of social work have faced has, therefore, been to examine the various specialties in social case work, in order to discover the fundamentals in the different fields. The integration of the training for family welfare, child welfare, psychiatric social work, medical social work, to mention a few varieties of social case work, has been attacked with varying degrees of success in different schools. From the report of the Milford Conference I quote:

> This analysis of social case work into its elements for study and training has the effect of bewildering newcomers to the profession. They seem to be engaged in taking apart something which it may be difficult, if not impossible, to get together again. Most of our recruits to social case work have entered the field because as a field it made an appeal to them. The seemingly unrelated courses in isolated subjects which together make up a curriculum, or the seemingly unrelated tasks which make up the routine of their first field experiences in an agency, may appear to have little logical connection. To the student it may look as though social case work had refined itself so far that the forest is not visible because of the trees.
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> This is not a fanciful picture. Some such impression is inevitable if students are left with training experiences which are organized solely around the details of social case work. For this reason every curriculum should include somewhere the opportunity for the student to see social case work as a whole and its major emphases related to one another. This is partly the function of the discussion of the philosophy of social case work and it is partly the function of interpretation by instructors of the student's training experiences and impressions.

Another problem which is even more involved is that of working out the interrelations of fields other than social case work, with the training for social case work. We have to integrate the various aspects of community and recreation work with social case work. The extent to which this problem is recognized will depend somewhat upon the individual's belief in the possibilities of social work achieving a professional status. To the extent that we believe there is an underlying philosophy in social work, to that extent will the correlation of the specialized fields of social work in a training plan seem to be a major problem. To the extent that a social worker seems to be a practitioner of certain specialized skills he has acquired, which makes little demand on his general intellectual equipment, and may require little judgment or exercise of choice apart from his specialty, to that extent will the problems of integration within a curriculum seem of small import. Quoting again from the Milford report:

> One fundamental consideration which must be borne in mind in considering the training of social case workers is that social case work is one form of social work. Social work itself tends towards the same unity that we have recognized within the general field of social case work. Generic social work is as valid and important a conception as generic social case work. Social case workers must be trained as social workers, which means that the foundation of training for generic social case work must be the same in character as the foundation of training for generic social work. The acceptance of this point of view still leaves us with the problem of defining the content of generic social work, which we can probably not do any more precisely than we have been able to define the content of social case work. Nevertheless the acceptance of this point of view would imply one standard of training helpful in the matter of breadth and scope if not in the matter of definition of content.

The day for debating this question, at least from the standpoint of the training schools of social work, has passed. We are all committed to an interpretation of social work as a profession. We may vary in the degree of professionalism which we think has been achieved, but we all recognize the fact that the social worker is becoming more and more the social engineer, that year by year the community places greater responsibility upon him in advising and assisting in the solution of various social problems. It is primarily through discovering the common elements of the various aspects of the social work curriculum that the training for such a status in the community becomes possible.

This position of expert in aiding a population group to work out the solutions to its social problems will be largely dependent upon the success or failure of our curriculums. In training for education the last two decades have seen great steps forward in placing upon students of a few teachers' training schools the direction of educational development in many cities in the United States. In social work too frequently the technicians have remained passive while chambers of commerce or service clubs have taken complete responsibility for the so called cooperative movement. Divided among themselves, or lacking a broad view of their field, the social workers have done nothing while, in many places, others have devised and put into operation the machinery of joint financing and occasionally of joint planning. Our curriculums must prepare students capable of developing into positions of leadership in social planning.

Differences of opinion on membership committees of the American Association of Social Workers as to who is, and who is not, a social worker, city conferences of social work attended only by the case working group, attitudes of mutual suspicion between the case workers and the group workers, or among the different kinds of case workers in city after city, are additional demonstrations of the need for attention on the part of the training school to this problem of integrating the various fields of social work.

In the institutions with which I am familiar the most common method of securing a well integrated curriculum is to have a required course in which some attention is given to various developments in the social work field. Specialization is then provided for largely through field work in which some individual or group instruction may be given. This is only possible in a small school in which undifferentiated social work has been fostered, and in which almost complete dependence is placed upon the field work agencies for training and instruction in the special problems of specialized jobs. Of catalogues of twenty-three schools of social work examined, fourteen apparently outline a course with few, if any, electives, and an additional three have a considerable body of required courses.

The history of the New York School may be interesting in this connection. Starting with a small number of courses, in which an attempt was made to require of each student all the courses offered, the staff gradually was enlarged until a full fledged departmental system developed with so many courses offered by several other departments that there was little time left for courses in other fields.

The high degree of specialization was not justified, as a study of the vocational history of our graduates showed. The extent to which students left the field of their major interest to accept positions for which their two-year course in the school had not directly prepared them brought before our staff the artificiality of a tendency toward extreme specialization. Moreover, another difficulty was the constantly increasing pressure for the multiplication of courses in each department.

This gradually developing dissatisfaction with overspecialization, resulted, three years ago, in the appointment of a Committee on Instruction which was assigned the task of studying the courses offered in the school, and the extent to which they were integrated.

This committee has recommended certain radical changes in the curriculum which have been put into effect, and a few words about the method it followed may be of interest. A brief outline was prepared in which topics and objectives of courses were stressed, and each staff member was requested to outline each course he gave. After consideration of these outlines a meeting of the committee was called and one staff member at a time invited to discuss his course with the committee. Through this means the committee secured a picture of the whole curriculum of the school. Certain overlapping and overemphasis were evident, and certain underemphasis or complete absence of topics appeared. The committee developed a classification which was helpful and which was later adopted by the staff: technical courses representing basic techniques; courses designed to acquaint students with special fields; applications of related fields of knowledge to social work; and courses which might be termed correlators, having to do with the development of theories and a philosophy of social work. As a result of this analytical process, the committee felt it had some understanding of the relative emphasis upon specialized techniques, specialized information, adaptations from other fields, and theory in the seventy-two courses in the curriculum. Each course studied was classified under these four headings. Most courses combined at least two of these classifications.

Desiring to lessen the degree of specialization which had developed, the committee recommended the elimination of departments and the stressing of courses in the basic techniques of all fields of social work. There seemed to be less emphasis on theory than was desired, and more emphasis on correlation courses was recommended. As basic techniques of social work to be required of diploma candidates, courses in social case work, community organization, and social research were recommended. Existing courses had to be revamped in order to provide the generalized, rather than the specialized, emphasis previously had. Consideration was given to the possibility of offering a general course in social work in which basic technique might be stressed. No one felt competent to teach this course even if it could be outlined. However, the idea is not discarded, and it may well be that a course in fundamental, undifferentiated techniques of all social work can be devised.

Our case work staff has worked out a course in generic social case work which stresses the fundamental techniques of all forms of social case work. During the coming year different sections of this course are to be taught by family, psychiatric, and hospital social workers, regardless of what the special interests of the students may be. Our next step may be to discover whether the relations between group work, community work, case work, and social research are sufficiently close to make possible a beginning course in which fundamental techniques may be stressed, a course somewhat similar to the seminars described later. Can adequate case record material be provided as content for such a course? Can the various techniques be dealt with simultaneously? These are some of the questions we have asked ourselves, and which remain unanswered in our minds. They are, we believe, fundamental in the process of building a curriculum to develop professional social workers.

The next problem of the Committee was to work out what were termed advanced correlated courses. None existed, though the staff had from time to time voluntarily combined on advanced seminars, most of which had had little success and developed into learned debates between staff members to the edification, but not the education, of the privileged students. It was felt that these courses should be small, limited to advanced students, with a flexible program, and that no one staff member should be permitted to teach such a seminar alone, primarily because of the bias toward some particular field which each was supposed to have. These so called social work seminars are now conducted during every quarter of the school year and, except in summer, in two sections, with three members of the staff assigned to each. In an effort to discover to what extent the staff can learn to cooperate in joint instruction, a two-hour-a-week meeting of the staff was held during a twelve-week quarter, during which, under the leadership of one member, we discussed such topics as it was hoped would be possible in the proposed seminars. These were so successful that the six members teaching the social work seminar in any one quarter have continued regular weekly meetings to discuss method, topics, etc. The plan has only been in operation a year and it is too early to draw any final conclusions regarding it. However, staff members have learned to cooperate, numerous rough edges in method have been rubbed off, the discussion is primarily in the hands of students, the staff supplementing and suggesting rather than leading and monopolizing. Because of the possibility of these social work seminars' becoming superficial, partly on account of the limited experience of the students, we are requiring, as a corrective force, a carefully worked out thesis from every student.

Content has come largely from case material and problems which students have brought in. Originally it was hoped that from various fields a body of case records might be assembled which could form the basis of content. It soon developed, however, that our advanced students, who were all engaged in field work, and most of whom had had social work experience previous to their enrolment with us, had their own problems to present which were more vital to them, and which, when carefully selected, became more vital to the other members of the seminar.

Topics such as "Divergent Theories of Dealing with a Social Problem," "The Growth of Scientific Standards in an Agency," "Problems of Agency Cooperation," "The Place of Volunteers in a Social Work Agency," "The Values of Primary Groups," "The Relation of a Public to a Private Agency" are among the numerous problems which have been discussed. In general the method has been to have students present the subject and to encourage questions and discussions from other students. The staff members have taken turns in acting as leader. The leader has guided and summarized discussion, other staff members present have tried to cooperate by adding to the discussion relevant facts or experience, rather than by taking the discussion away from the students.

Another step in the process of correlation, which was adopted by the staff on the recommendation of the Committee on Instruction, was the establishment of a thesis seminar to be conducted each of the four quarters by three members of the staff. The discussion of projects, methods of studying them, as well as final reports, has presented to the student the various ramifications of the social work process as well as the common elements in these processes. The first session of this thesis seminar is just closing. Among the topics presented this quarter have been: a study of several families under the care of a child placing society over a period of three years; the use of leisure time as a tool in ten cases selected from a child guidance clinic; the community activities of a medical social service department; the relations of a council and a chest in several selected cities; the social work program of the colored churches in Manhattan.

Frequently in life the secondary results, unexpected though they may be, are of as great import as the primary. The development of an *esprit de corps* on the part of staff members, the gradual discovery on the part of one staff member of what another is interested in and is teaching, the effect on all classroom teaching of stress upon the discussion of method, and particularly of group discussion method, have been outcomes of this process not primarily planned for.

Staff conferences are invaluable in any educational institution. Staff conferences on administrative problems and the development of general attitudes of staff and students are a necessity. Staff conferences themselves do not integrate the various ramifications of a curriculum. You may know a colleague for a decade, admire him, play golf with him, but have little idea of the total effect of your teaching, plus his, upon the student. An effort to analyze your respective courses, particularly if done under Miss Follett's "interpenetration" method, will be of enormous assistance; if added to this you are scheduled to carry on a joint seminar week in and week out, you find yourself having a very definite idea of how your teaching and his correlate.

Summarizing, then, specialization in social work has gone too far. In the various fields of social case work progress has been made in analyzing the elements common to all. Generic rather than specific social work needs to be emphasized next in the development of the field. This means that for the various specialties a similar process to that through which social case work has gone will occur. It is not less technical ability in the special field, but a greater appreciation of, and ability to do, generic social work which is needed. This is to a large extent the problem of the training school.

METHODS OF RAISING PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

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THE CALIFORNIA PLAN FOR THE STATE CERTIFICATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

Harriet J. Eliel, League of Women Voters, Berkeley

AN EX-SALOON keeper, a cook, a cowboy who was at one time an assistant to a sheriff, a truck driver, a cattleman, a carpenter, these were the previous occupations of some of the present juvenile probation officers of California. Charity organizations which have charge of dependent children for the state have in most instances never kept adequate case records of these wards, and in others have kept no records at all. Some county welfare boards select their executive on a political basis of turning to the trained social worker. Such occurrences are from the records in the public field of social work in California. They are undoubtedly duplicated in most states.

It was with the intention of eliminating such practices and of raising standards in public welfare work that the drafting of legislation looking toward the certification of social workers in California was first undertaken. As the drafting work progressed, the desire of many in the profession to see its provisions apply to the private as well as the public field of social work was accepted and the bill as drawn included all social workers in the state.

The right of the state to demand that its citizens be given adequate care and protection has ceased to be questioned. Teachers, doctors, nurses, and a multiplicity of trades and professions are considered as falling within this general doctrine. Certain standards of training and experience are considered necessary in all these fields, and have been created by law. The public has long needed protection from well meaning but untrained social workers; and the profession itself has needed the stimulus that legislation to establish standards would give. That standards have been created for cosmeticians, morticians, barbers, and plumbers but not for social workers has been due to the social workers themselves. One of the most interesting side lights of the late campaign was the questioning of the right of the League of Women Voters to initiate such legislation. It seemed to be forgotten or ignored that the public had suffered long, that it is not only vitally concerned in how its community chest donations are administered, how its taxes are spent in preventing crime and in handling dependent children and the aged, but in all phases of relief. The League of Women Voters therefore decided to make registration of social workers the only new plank in its 1929 legislative program.

The bill just defeated would have helped to establish a statewide standard for professional social work. Many of the political causes for its defeat are not of national interest. A few of the more important ones will be touched upon later as indication of what every state may expect when waging a similar legislative fight. The bill itself created so much interest and opposition that, from the point of view of the League and all forward looking social workers, the weary hours of lobbying and the expense were offset by the stimulus it gave social workers at large, and the educative influence which the bill had in bringing about a more widespread realization of the necessity for some legal provision of this sort.

The chief functions of the State Department of Social Welfare are the supervision of county hospitals, homes for the aged, county jails, county detention homes, and county outdoor relief. County welfare or county outdoor relief involves financial aid to, and responsibility for, both the aged and dependent children. This aid to dependent children alone involves supervision of more than four thousand family boarding homes. The department has not, and from an administrative standpoint should not, have the staff to carry on this detailed local relief. For the success of this work it must depend upon the cooperation of the several counties. With few agents of the department to cover unorganized county areas and those counties doing poor work under untrained political appointees, the results fall woefully short of recognized good practice.

To meet these and similar situations in the public field the bill attempted to set up a certification division, which would after examination provide a list of qualified social workers who could be selected by county boards of supervisors to carry on the local outdoor relief work required by the state. Registration was open to all social workers in the state who could meet the requirements of age, and who had either been trained in schools or social work approved by the department or had been engaged in social work for three years on salary. Credentials were to be demanded regarding character and experience. Although the bill was permissive, it was the hope that the prestige given to the holders of a certificate would stimulate a desire on the part of most social workers to register, and that eventually private agencies would look for workers with a registration certificate.

The registration feature was not made mandatory for several reasons. The term "social worker" is difficult to define. Questions as to where to draw the line between the different classes of social workers who should or should not be required to register are almost insurmountable. For example, all are in agreement as to the agency case worker, but what about the church volunteer worker?

Another problem which mandatory registration raises is extremely difficult of solution. If all workers were forced to register, should those who failed in the examination be excluded from practicing, as they are in all other professions except nursing? Or should a parallel situation to nursing be created, where the holder of a R.N. certificate has a higher professional standing than the nurse who does not?

Nor could it be made mandatory that every public social worker coming into the field after the passage of the bill should have a certificate because of constitutional obstacles. In California any such plan would necessitate legislating for each division of public social work, one bill dealing with probation officers, one with county welfare workers, one with medical social workers, and so on. It was thought to be unwise politically to attempt so many bills in one legislature. Opposition would have developed tenfold and further confused the minds of the legislators.

A very interesting division of public opinion occurred over this question of making registration mandatory for public social service positions. Labor, as would be expected, fought the bill mainly on the point that a permissive bill eventually becomes mandatory, and that a mandatory bill without a blanketing-in clause would run counter to its tenet that the worker has a vested right in his job. A number of editorials were run in labor papers claiming that the bill would have limited social workers to university graduates, and that all those now employed would consequently be thrown out of work.

But more interesting to the drafting committee was the division among the social workers themselves. Strangely, those in the northern part of the state found themselves in opposition to the southern group. The south asked for mandatory legislation for all county positions, emphasizing the benefits to be secured by such legislation on intercounty ethics, new entrants, etc. A letter from them stated, "No one in the public departments here (Los Angeles) is afraid of an examination." In striking contrast and with the exception of those few San Francisco workers who actively supported the measure, the majority of northern workers expressed nothing but personal fear of loss of position, fear of an examination, and pique at not having been individually consulted in the drafting. There was a complete lack of outlook as to future benefit, either to themselves or to the public.

The same division of opinion was manifested on other phases of the bill. San Francisco favored a retroactive provision. It was opposed in Los Angeles. There was total disagreement over the bases to be used for the application for a certificate. A request was made also from the workers in the north that loopholes be left in order to work no hardship on the old and untrained but efficient worker.

The bill as finally drawn contained no retroactive feature. The drafters did not and do not believe in blanketing-in all those now in the field of social work. The argument of those in favor of such a provision was that the doctors, lawyers, nurses, and other groups had done so. We felt this to be no argument in favor of doing it. It is a politically expedient argument but nothing else. It tends to lower standards, not to raise them. Furthermore, the registration of social workers bill was permissive, while for other registered groups registration was mandatory. But the fundamental objection, and one that will hold true for years to come, is the lack of objective standards of work in the social welfare field which can be insisted on as a minimum to be attained by all social workers before they can dignify themselves with the title. Anyone can call himself a social worker; only the professionally educated can be a trained nurse, or a lawer, or a doctor of medicine. These professions demand specific academic and professional training and experience. There are no such accepted standards in social work. If the bill was to have a retroactive feature involving the meeting of recognized standards, the only logical one which could be imposed would be that of graduation from a school which has membership in the American Association of Schools of Professional Work. Any such standard would be obviously impractical and unfair.

One other objection of a most serious character was felt to preclude a retroactive provision. Under any such procedure the business of deciding whether applicants were or were not social workers would fall upon the shoulders of the Department of Social Welfare, and the chaos politically that would result from the refusal of certain applicants and the acceptance of others can well be imagined. Under such conditions no social welfare board would long survive.

Among those provisions of the bill which attempted to set up some form of standards, that calling for three years of experience met the greatest opposition. Many thought this period too long. The confining of experience to "experience on salary" was also objected to. The words "on salary" were finally stricken out during the session because the Catholics rightly argued that it would prevent nuns from registering, as they received no salary. Any new bill should contain the provision with a special dispensation for the nuns.

The definition of social worker in the bill was at first made quite inclusive but was amended in the legislative committee so that it applied only to case workers, medical social workers, and juvenile probation officers. The phrase "and similar recognized fields" which the drafting Committee intended should be interpreted to include the group worker, community organizer, etc., was considered too broad, and amended out with nothing being substituted in its place. The final draft of the bill as amended in committee carried a weak feature from the point of view of many social workers. It provided that

> the examinations conducted prior to 1931 shall be designed to test and determine the judgment, experience and personality of a candidate rather than his or her technical knowledge, and that every written examination so conducted prior to said date shall be based upon a reading list prescribed by the Social Welfare Board.

This section was inserted by the northern social workers to temper their fears of an examination and was accepted by the drafting committee to offset political opposition. It was bitterly opposed by the southern workers as a dangerous weakening of standards. Perhaps its greatest fault is justly handled by Mr. Bruno in the *Survey* article when he says:

> It is possible that a state examining body close to the personnel examined and able to evaluate that most subtle quality—personality—will be more successful than the membership of the American Association, who have given eloquent testimony to the extraordinary difficulty of evaluating service. Its most unsatisfactory decisions will be made in that area of testing.

It is to be hoped that the new bill now being considered will include no such sugarcoated pill for the timid of the profession.

The real stumbling block in the bill both in drafting and politically at Sacramento was the method provided for examining applicants. The bill gave to the Social Welfare Board supervision of the certificate. The executive of the department was authorized to appoint the examination committees, which were to be made up of seven members each. In trying to evolve a sane, fair, and politically safe method of examination, the drafting committee met many snags. If the governor were given the power to create a board of social work examiners similar to the board of medical examiners, who would he recognize as sufficiently professional to fill such positions; could he include enough persons to handle such diversified problems as are found in the large field of social service so that other than a one-man examination would be assured? Would appointments not be as open to politics as any the Department of Social Welfare would make? If the examining board were to be made up of nominees from the universities, would it not tend to be too academic, and even if this were desirable, could the state delegate such power to other than a governmental agency? The question of whether the State Conference of Social Work could be given the power to nominate members for the examining committee was also seriously considered and was rejected on constitutional grounds.

The decision to place the power of certification in the Department of Social Welfare was made because this seemed the only logical agency to charge with this responsibility. The political risks seemed no greater than they would be under a governor-appointed board and the elasticity to be obtained from changing committees adaptable to the field to be tested was much greater than when one board would continually bear the burden of all examinations.

As already pointed out, the Conference of Social Work cannot constitutionally be empowered to nominate members for the examination committee, nor can it handle the examination itself. Only as a public corporation, similar to the state bar, established by legislative act could such powers be conferred upon it. It is very doubtful whether the legislature could constitutionally make a body of persons whose work had in itself no relation to any governmental activity and was not tinged with any public interest, such as is the state bar, a part of the state government.

The political aspects of the fight were interesting, always stimulating, and frightfully tiring. Several mistakes were made at the outset which should be avoided in other states. The committee appointed by the Conference of Social Work to help draft the bill with the League of Women Voters was appointed very late. By the time the bill was in sufficiently good form to present to the social workers for criticism, the legislative session was almost upon us, so that insufficient time for discussion was allowed. This made possible the most effective argument used by the opposition on the legislators. They argued that they, who were the most concerned, had not been consulted in the drafting. It is doubtful, however, even though more time had been allowed for education, how much the committee could have accomplished, since the social workers themselves have no effective working state organization that can be counted upon as a unit to indorse and actively support such a measure. Although the November and February Conference *Bulletins* carried articles, and a series of three letters were sent out by the committee to executives of agencies, this was not enough. The failure of most of the large agency executives, especially in San Francisco, to take their workers into their confidence and discuss the bill was deplorable. Neither the League nor the Conference Committee could have remedied this situation. Whether it will ever be possible to organize the thousands of social workers in the state into groups for discussion of such a measure is extremely problematical.

The bill raced through the Assembly and was reported out favorably by the Senate Committee probably because it was permissive and the opposition had not yet developed. The Hardy trial interfered with the Senate's giving it immediate consideration and gave time for the opposition to organize. Political influences which were wound up with the Republican state machine and a general rush of business after the Hardy trial prevented as effective lobbying as was desired. One main reason for the defeat of the bill was the general feeling of unwillingness, quite prevalent at this session of the legislature, to give any more power to government departments. There was also a certain amount of prejudice against the Department of Social Welfare itself which was inherited from previous administrations.

Now that the needed impetus has been given and many workers have become aware of the necessity for raised standards, it is hoped that the large body of social workers themselves will organize and draft a bill to be presented at the next legislature. A step in this direction has already been made by the Los Angeles chapter of the American Association. It has appointed a committee to work in cooperation with one from the San Francisco chapter. From this group the League feels assured that a bill aimed to establish even higher standards than the last will be drawn. Behind such a bill the League will throw its legislative support. Should any attempt be made, however, to introduce a general retroactive principle, the League would have to continue its opposition to such a plan in an effort to protect what it considers essential to the establishment of adequate standards of social work in this state.

THE RÔLE OF PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS IN PUBLIC SOCIAL WORK

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Public social work the concern of the social worker.—We are concerned with social work performed under governmental auspices from two aspects: first, our general interest in public service as a part of the socialized functions of the community, and, second, our responsibility for the problems of our emerging profession. It is the latter aspect that I shall discuss. Federal, state, and local bodies are extending existing forms of public service, and are undertaking with major or minor modifications the newer forms and experiments of social technique, such as case work, child guidance, social research, and mental hygiene. No barrier interferes to any considerable extent with the passing of social workers from the field of private into the field of public service and vice versa. The professional aspects of public social work are entitled to the consideration of social workers in both fields.

Development of professional standards in social work field.—The progress of professional standards in social work in general is greatly indebted to the field of public work. In fact, the organization of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, made up largely in the beginning of representatives of state welfare agencies and of other public agencies, was one of the important steps in the professionalization of social work. Through the interest of this group in the common problems of public welfare, social work in general became conscious of its distinctive character and problems. The expectation of officials of state charities and institutions that the conference method would improve standards of work encouraged the first important step that resulted in the evolution of professional social work in this country. The cooperation of individuals from the private field in the Conference was an expression of common interests and problems. The history of the Conference shows a rapid development in both volume and quality of privately organized service, and the professional aspects of private service, therefore, have been in the foreground. There has been an accompanying interest, however, in public welfare, and progress has taken place in public social work. It seems slow by comparison with the more rapid and perhaps more brilliant development of privately organized social work. Unbiased appraisal of public social work leads to the conviction that in state hospital, in county infirmary, in state board of charity, and in related services there has been a gradual improvement in the standards of service. This improvement must be considered as an indication of improvement in professional standards inasmuch as improvement in social work is determined by the quality of service and of personnel.

Trend of professional development.—To some extent the improvement in professional standards in both public and private fields shows a similarity of trend. Beginning with a recognition of the social problems involved there develops an emphasis upon the purpose, ideals, and integrity of the individuals performing the service. This is accompanied by an increasing appreciation of the fact that to be effective social ideals and social philosophy must be translated into terms of function and technique. In the private field this is evidenced by the increasing importance of the salaried worker to whom social work is a vocation; in the public field it is indicated by the attention given to civil service reform and to other phases of personnel selection administration.

Limitations of professional standards in the private field.—In order to view the problems of professional standards in public social work with the proper perspective, it is important to realize that the profession of social work is an emerging profession. To those who have on the whole a poor opinion of public social work it is necessary to suggest that they do not compare it with the outstanding examples of high standards of performance in private practice, but with the entire field of private social work. For example, if we viewed as a whole all the constituent agencies of the typical community and evaluated their personnel, we would find varieties of standards extending from the lowest caliber to the highest which have been attained. We have not available information to answer the question whether a cross section of public personnel would compare favorably with a cross section of private social workers in professional standards, although for the purpose of this discussion we may grant the higher average quality of the latter; but we may be sure that the present personnel in both types of social work falls far short of what we consider to be desirable. The proposed membership requirements for the American Association of Social Workers have not as yet been adopted, and members of this Conference may find them too advanced, although from the point of view of the committee in charge they represent minimum standards for the profession. In a study made of social workers admitted to membership last year, it was found that 79 per cent of those admitted to senior membership might be considered ineligible under the proposed requirements. Other indications with which we are familiar, in the problems of recruiting, in the variations of content and curriculum of professional schools and colleges, in the problems of salary standards and turnover, in the vagueness of function which is discovered when attempts are made to develop statistical accounting of social work, and in the difficulties of analysis of social work functions and principles—all of these demonstrate that social work as a whole is at the beginning of professional development.

The problems of standards have been emphasized not only as a background for evaluating public social work, but because current professional problems are important factors in the development of standards in the field of public social work. Unless we should assume the impossible—that public social work is capable of making more rapid strides in professionalization than the field of social work in general—we must assign to the lack of general professional development some of the reasons for the present imperfections in public social work. In addition the field of public social work has personnel problems peculiar to itself.

General problems of public administration.—The problems of professional standards in public social work are related to the problems of public administration. The functions of government which might be classified as social work consist largely of established services with considerable history and continuity as public institutions. To these have been added recently new functions and specialized services, and excursions by the state into the fields of child welfare, mothers' pensions, specialized correctional and mental institutions, probation and other services. For both the older and the newer functions there have been recruited, as an appreciable part of the required personnel, social workers with experience in private social work—among them those conscious of their professional needs and problems.

The whole of the civil service may be considered as an aspect of government related to the basic political philosophy and political practices of our organized community life. The civil service reform movement is an attempt to establish methods whereby efficient personnel would be brought into public service and the interests of the public safeguarded. Through the establishment of civil service methods, with their reliance on such devices as job classification, merit tests, competitive examinations, and impartial employment bodies, some progress has been made in improving the public service. However, there are many current limitations. Constant repetition of deplorable incidents shows only too distinctly that governments, particularly local and state governments, are often in the hands of persons who are dominated by selfish rather than social motives, and that the machinery set up for safeguarding public employment is often subverted by baser political interests. When the problem was discussed at the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1898 emphasis was centered upon the need for the awakening of a political morality which would place civil service upon a basis beyond that offered by the prevailing spoils systems. Only through such radical changes was it hoped that persons of intelligence, honesty, industry, and energy would occupy the public positions of trust.

While the qualities mentioned in general terms still remain the qualities which public social work requires, and public jobs are still the prey of self-seeking politicians, there is some gain in the fact that we are now in a better position to define specific jobs in terms of functions and special requirements, and to evaluate the applicants for them in the more concrete terms of education, training, and experience. We may bring to the task of personnel selection a somewhat more definite knowledge of the skills and techniques which are accepted as standards for similar positions in private service.

Another factor in the situation is the nature of a considerable part of public social work. Well established agencies in general tend to follow traditional methods of service, and to lack responsiveness to changes in social philosophy and social technique, with the consequent poorer qualities of professional attainment. This is, however, not confined to public social work.

Attempts toward improvement.—There are continuing, and to a degree successful, attempts to build up an effective civil service. While discrepancies exist, in general marked improvement in procedure is being inaugurated. This includes the development of methods for control of public personnel through the establishment of civil service bodies so organized as to be to a degree independent of political fluctuations and able to withstand some if not all of the less desirable control of elected public officials. Some of the methods of civil service tend to protect public work from grosser exploitation. Among these is the classification of public service and the setting up of definite standards and specifications for each position. If jobs are properly analyzed and desirable standards and requirements are established, and if a supporting public opinion taboos the practice of political exploitation and interference, a degree of stability is possible. Eventually it may become poor sportsmanship to exploit social services, and they may become subject to the same attitude of protection against political domination which now safeguards state universities and public education. A step in this direction is the proper classification of all important governmental positions. This has been attained in the federal service and in a limited number of states and municipalities.

A third step toward improvement is in the development of intelligent and nationally standardized job specifications, methods of examination, and other aids in the proper selection of personnel.

The entire group of services now being performed under federal, state, and local auspices which does not as yet realize its status as a distinct professional service constitutes a large field which should eventually find its professional fulfilment. Decisive steps in this direction have been made in other countries, particularly Germany, to make us hopeful that a realization of the professional implications of public social work will gradually develop in the United States. That this is possible is indicated by the fact that teaching, the law, and public health nursing have attained professional status under governmental auspices.

At present the best that can be said for social work under public auspices is that it is, with few exceptions, in a fluid state. A large part of the personnel which will in the future be considered as members of the profession of social work is at the present but little aware of its relation to social work.

Professional workers in the public service.—We have no available information to indicate how large a number of members of the American Association of Social Workers are engaged in public service. A questionnaire mailed to a selected group has elicited about thirty responses. From these replies, as well as from information supplied by a selected number of civil service bodies and by the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration, the inference is drawn that there are at the present time only a small number of public employees who are members of the American Association of Social Workers. Possibly a larger number are allied with the National Probation Association and other such specialized groups. Of those professional workers in the public service a fair proportion are engaged in positions for which some type of specifications and requirements have been drawn and which are under some form of civil service administration. In some instances the position was in the non-competitive class.

Of the replies received only 7 out of 25 had obtained their positions through competitive test or examination, the remainder having been appointed by an administrative head. In 8 instances replies indicated that social workers in the community had been interested in the filling of the public position and had cooperated with the public agency to this end. This group includes instances in which the appointing body had called upon social workers of recognized standing for help in finding properly qualified persons for an opening. Three instances were cited in which, in the competitive examination, social workers of recognized standing had assisted either in preparing questions or in conducting the examination.

From information supplied by professional social workers in public service, it is apparent that a wide variation of practices exists, indicative of varying professional and political ethics. Statements were made such as that no standards really exist and public positions are obtained only if you are known to the right political leaders; that selections are made on merit although political sponsors, not difficult to obtain, are required; that politics plays no part, and the outlook is that no one would be chosen except on the basis of merit because of the high caliber of the state board; that in some instances the quality of the workers selected seems to depend largely upon the courage, political strategy, and social work standards of the head of the public department; that the quality of workers averages well and is no worse than other types (private) of social work.

Methods of civil service appointment.—There is considerable variation of opinion concerning the relative merits of competitive examination and selection by appointment of administrative head. Where politics or lack of intelligence controls civil service methods, statements were made that persons were admitted to examination and were found acceptable by the examining group although utterly disqualified from the point of view of professional requirements and experience. Examples, however, were cited of the waiving of residence requirements and the holding of non-assembled examinations for the purpose of finding the best qualified persons.

A cursory observation of a number of written tests given by civil service examinations for social workers indicates further the wide variety of standards held. Frequently specified duties and requirements in the classified service have been based on the opinions of the present incumbents of such positions, many of whom possess little appreciation of desirable qualifications and functions. Where this practice exists little progress can be made in the improvement of standards. In a group of recent examinations the educational qualifications ranged from common school education and at least one year's experience in social work, or experience considered equivalent thereto by the civil service commission, to such requirements as graduation from a four-year course in a university, including courses in special subjects and professional training and experience. The type of examinations which are employed are also illuminating as an indication of standards. For example, in an examination for probation officer the question of greatest importance seemed to be: "Are you familiar with the street layouts of the different sections of the city?" At the other extreme were highly technical examinations which required of the prospective medical social worker a knowledge of the symbol for standard deviation and the meaning of the coefficient of correlation, together with much other theoretical knowledge in the social sciences and in medicine, nursing, penology, and eugenics.

Special problems and practices of personnel selection in public social work.—Public social work presents special problems which should receive the sustained interest of the profession, and it is important to present briefly the nature of some of these problems. There is the basic need of democratic government for discovering the most effective methods toward the development of public administration. We should not, however, become unduly depressed with the prospects of developing administrative services under democratic auspices. The success attained in the fields of education, nursing, engineering, and library service brighten the prospect of eventual improvement in public social work, once its distinct professional character emerges. Of the particular problems which affect social work the following should be noted:

First, there is need for an authoritative job analysis and classification of all positions in governmental service which at the present time may be considered as suitably filled by social workers of professional attainment. It is to this task that the Committee on Personnel Standards in Public Social Work and the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration are now addressing themselves. This proposed joint study waits upon the development of a careful plan and suitable financial support. In many respects public positions differ from the corresponding private services. There are differences of social theory, of social work assumptions, and of technique. Many of the public functions are or should be adapted to modern developments in the theory of community responsibility and in case work and administrative technique.

Second, there is discussion of the relative advantages of competitive examination and administrative appointment to positions considered as non-competitive. Social workers whose experience is largely in the field of private work favor usually the method of administrative appointment, which is similar to selective methods employed in the field of private work. There is flexibility in this method, and under civil service regulations it approximates the methods of selection in vogue for physicians, nurses, and other technicians. If in addition residence requirements are flexible, personnel can be recruited from outside the local governmental area and at the time a vacancy occurs, rather than selected from an established qualified list based upon an examination held with no immediate knowledge of when the successful candidates will be required. The administrator has available personnel resources which do not ordinarily enter competitive examination, for which employment may be indeterminately deferred. A modification of the method of administrative appointment where civil service exists has developed. Qualified workers are selected as temporary employees and subsequent examinations are held in which the incumbent of the position is ordinarily able to qualify upon a competitive basis. This may be considered as satisfactory to the public agency but unsatisfactory to bona fide seekers of public jobs who are at a disadvantage in the examination as compared with the experienced incumbent of a position for which examination is being held. The method of administrative appointment in both types of procedure has its real deficiencies inasmuch as it depends so largely upon the ability for personnel administration of the head of the department, who may or may not have been selected on the basis of this quality. It also in the long run may produce an atmosphere of suspicion on the part of those excluded from employment, that under the guise of professional motives persons are being unfairly employed for other than professional reasons. Where civil service status is not attained by the temporary incumbent there is a further danger that an administrative or political turnover will jeopardize the tenure of the worker. Finally, with the development of standardized classification and methods of selection under civil service, administrative appointment may be more and more brought into question. While many significant defects of competitive examination exist, which result in cumbersome and even inefficient procedure, it is possible that these difficulties may be overcome.

Third, the answer to a reliance upon an administrative head is the establishment of a civil service or employment body of the highest caliber and farthest removed from fluctuations of political interference, competent to recruit and select efficient personnel.

Fourth, residence qualifications is a perplexing problem. The tradition of obtaining public employees from the political area seems well established and the desire to find the best qualified person irrespective of place of residence is making slow headway. The nature of social work and its rapid development is responsible for the fact that many local areas are unable to find properly qualified persons for public positions. This problem, of course, is not found in the federal service nor in the more highly developed state services, but is frequently encountered in local examinations and in the less populated states. It is highly desirable that social workers urge the practice of waiving residence requirements and encourage the holding of non-assembled examinations with the cooperation of proper civil service agencies in other localities.

Fifth, where both the administrator of a public department and the local civil service agency are capable, a cooperative relationship between them is often established which facilitates personnel selection. In such instances confidence in their mutual integrity and good faith is engendered. A responsible civil service commission realizes that its chief responsibility is to the functional department and to public efficiency, and finds it legal as well as expedient to use the regulations and safeguards of the civil service methods to this end. It is essential in this relationship for the administrator to comprehend and to sympathize with the importance of civil service safeguards, and for the civil service commission to understand the progressive plans and purposes of the administrator and the necessity for flexibility in personnel procedure.

Sixth, although the intelligent efforts of a number of civil service bodies and the cooperation of the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration have resulted in improving the methods of competitive examination, many problems still inhere. The vagueness of much of social service required and functions and the difficulty of finding examination methods which really test the important requirements are problems which require considerable further fact finding and study. Experiments are now being made with some of the developments in personnel management and in intelligence and special ability examinations suggested by vocational laboratories and university examinations. The relative merits and the difficulties of oral versus written examination, the free answer to general questions versus the specific and limited answer, and the methods of establishing qualities of personality, are some of the problems requiring authoritative answers.

Seventh, in the development of the examination method there has been some use of special advisory committees for the preparing and the conducting of examinations. The majority of the civil service bodies know that the limited number of official examiners does not offer a group complete within itself to prepare the highly varied types of examination which they are asked to hold. The practice of obtaining advice and aid from special examiners and from outside bodies is growing. Varying reactions were shown in the replies received from civil service bodies concerning the value of special advisory groups of qualified social workers. Some have found them of the highest value, while others report difficulties and dissatisfaction. In some instances it has been found that the presence in the examining group of the administrative head, who may be a former employer of applicants raises difficulties which involve both the applicant and the examiner; and it is suggested that social workers chosen from the private field frequently fail to have a proper appreciation of the problems and functions of the public service.

A commissioner of public welfare who is a professional worker suggests that the examination should always be prepared and furthermore marked by social workers familiar with the requirements of the position, as it serves no purpose to have well prepared examinations if grading is done by persons who do not themselves understand the questions. In one examination a good experience record was established because an applicant had held four or five positions although actually poor service was performed in all, whereas an applicant with excellent experience in one position received a poorer rating. This was because references were not consulted. The need for testing for executive capacity in promotional examinations, the relative values of education, experience, and ability at writing examinations, personality versus knowledge, are other knotty problems for which practices and theories are largely inconclusive at the present.

Eighth, a further problem involved in civil service selection is the fact that examination is a much more important determinant of permanence of employment than is to be found in the private field. Whereas in the flexible method of selecting employees, unsatisfactory experience after selection ordinarily results in prompt termination of employment, under civil service it cannot be dealt with so easily. Although a probationary period exists under many civil service systems, it is difficult to terminate employment unless gross incompetence or undesirability can be proved, whereas the private agency has this privilege at any time. The problem of terminating unsatisfactory employment because of lack of growth of a worker who has had a long period of service is difficult in the private agency, but it is often possible to make adjustments within the organization or to find opportunities for the worker outside. The public social worker has in a greater degree the feeling of security which the civil service status rightly or falsely gives him. Many public agencies are faced with the fact that some on their staff who have been certified as civil service employees are unsatisfactory as the standards of the organization improve, and are forced to make the best adjustment possible. Methods need to be developed for retirement, superannuation, and adjustment of workers within the organization, more flexible than those now generally existent.

Ninth, in addition to these problems there are various factors which affect the readiness of properly qualified workers to enter public service. Although a public agency may desire improvement, existing low standards of service, with pressure and heavy burdens of work, make high grade service difficult if not impossible. The lack of facilities for professional advancement, for research and special studies, the meager outlook for comprehensiveness and improvement of service in many instances, deter properly qualified social workers from entering public work. These difficulties are offset somewhat by the assured tenure and continuity of service which private agencies frequently are unable to offer, and by the possibilities for experimentation in public work which appeal to those with particular ideals and theories. The greater territory covered and the enlarged responsibility for service which the state frequently is able to undertake are other incentives. With the eventual realization of the professional aspects of public social work, it should be possible to assure to the social worker proper compensation, and public social work may be able to develop a status offering prestige similar to that which workers now experience in entering the federal service, such as the Federal Children's Bureau and other important bodies. In general, however, one must agree with a public social worker who said that "the principle of civil service is very much more satisfactory than its general application."

Conclusions.—In spite of the difficulties and the problems which have been suggested, there is considerable outlook for improvement in the professional standards of public social work. This will come about largely through the gradual growth of a belief in its validity and importance. To some extent a recognition on the part of private agencies that in many fields of work the task can best be done by the public is an influence in this direction. This should lead to the general interest of the profession of social work in public service as an important part of the professional field, and to the encouragement of the training schools in preparing, more definitely than heretofore, students of social work for its specific requirements. This might be realized through a closer relationship of the training schools with the public field and through the development of special methods of training for state institutions and agencies, a field in which personnel needs have been largely neglected by the schools. For the recruiting of public social workers the training schools and the Joint Vocational Service can be of assistance in the establishment of *rapport* with the public bodies for this purpose. In this respect also the local chapters of the American Association of Social Workers may cooperate effectively. It is to their interest to improve standards and functions of public social work. They may aid public bodies in the selection of properly qualified workers, by presenting to these bodies, as definite material is available, the job analyses and personnel studies which will enable public administrators to understand the personnel problems of their departments; and they may encourage their members to seek public employment under suitable conditions. Committees of local chapters may safeguard professional and ethical practices and protest instances of improper methods of selection, and other situations in which professional standards and ethics are being disregarded. A further and important outlook for improvement lies in the realization by civil service commissions of the need for assistance both from the profession of social work and from the technical field of personnel management in this important field. Through the civil service assembly they have turned in the past for cooperation to the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration, which is aiding them in their personnel problems in the various fields with which civil service deals, and has given intelligent aid in many matters affecting the selection of social workers. Through the proposed joint committee representing both the civil service groups and the American Association of Social Workers, which is planning for studies of the requirements, functions, and other specifications of public social work positions, further progress in this respect may be made.

AROUSING VOTERS TO ACTION: A STORY OF A CITY CAMPAIGN

Virginia R. Wing, Chairman, Social Work Publicity Council, Cleveland

THE world is made up of two groups of people: one, those with a cause to promote; two, others. Others may be divided into three parts: first, special groups, such as Rotaries, parent-teachers, bar associations, etc.; second, interest groups, such as peace societies, the League of Women Voters, and churches; and, third, general public.

Those with a story or cause must visualize the people whom they wish to move and so put their undertaking that it gets the attention of people, interests them, and finally causes action.

Therefore, before beginning a campaign to pass a bond issue, pause and analyze the reasons in the bond issue which will appeal to these different groups and organize these reasons so that its passage will mean something of personal interest to them. We have then the cause which must be presented so that people will be moved to action. Moving people to action means separating the basis of the campaign into parts, and organizing each part so that it will appeal to the motor nerves of the general public.

The first part of the campaign is attention getting. Each group must be reached with an attention getter from what is to them a responsible source—the federated churches, the federation of labor, prominent citizens, women's clubs, chamber of industry, chamber of commerce—each one must be considered from the angle of why it wants the bond issue passed. Having found out why the groups want it, and this takes good psychology, have the statement from their respective leaders be one of the early pieces for news release. For instance, building a hospital means a great deal of work for industry, it means good business for the chamber of commerce, it means civic improvement to the federation of women's clubs, it means care for the sick for the medical association, and, properly organized, it means a good talking point for city officials.

The next step is the forming of a committee sufficiently representative to include all of the sources of power, nationality groups, etc., so that the letterhead has someone on it from every force. A committee is not necessarily a figurehead if thought is given to the use of each member of the committee in his vital capacity as, for instance, the president of the medical association. The president means authority to many physicians, action to many patients. Or as president of the dental association, because a dentist's office is a fine center for distribution of information (presuming the bond issue is a health one), since people come there and wait, and there is a steady stream all day long.

Having organized your committee and developed your program to meet each interest group, the next step is the set-up of a plan which includes printed material, letters, financing, newspaper publicity, and stunts. To be successful, this set-up must be made with all of the other community undertakings in mind so that advantage is taken of political meetings, of public interest in various people or locations, and a long enough start secured so that the public can in degrees be familiarized with the subject in hand.

The organization of the speakers is a very interesting piece of educational work, since to speak on a subject you must know about it, and by learning about it you are apt to be personally convinced. For the early groups, I always use speakers who are intimately acquainted with the work. Later on a good plan is to pick those who are talking on other things so that you can get a joint presentation.

Printed material must be pretty, appealing, and easily read, and it must contain the facts so that there is at least one place where people can be dead sure of learning what the bond issue is to be used for, how much goes for buildings, how much for equipment, how much it is going to mean to the tax duplicate, and other vital items. This may seem stupid, but I think it is very essential that the material be in every one's hands whether it is read or not.

So that we may have something specific to discuss, I will describe the organization of the hospital bond issue campaign for Cleveland, since this went over very successfully to the amount of $2,500,000, with better than a two to one vote in a presidential year.

The first activity was the appointing of a chairman, the selection by him of the Executive Committee, and the appointment of chairmen of committees on publicity, finance, and speakers.

A letter was sent to 250 men and women representing all groups, nationalities, and organizations, asking them to be members of the Campaign Committee. It was written on city of Cleveland stationery with the names of the Executive Committee added. One hundred and eight individuals accepted. The next activity was securing indorsements. They were requested by letter and personal interview, and thirty outstanding organizations gave their approval. The names of the organizations as well as of the committees were added to the letterhead.

Preparation of the small pamphlet for wide distribution and the larger pamphlet for speakers and leaders was carried through and approved by the Committee on Publicity and the director of the Department of Public Health and Welfare.

The chairman of the Committee on Speakers sent letters to all organizations and unions holding meetings and also to men and women who were qualified to speak on the bond issue. Twenty-seven organizations signified their interest in having a speaker and twenty-five speakers promised to serve.

Newspaper publicity began with the formation of the Executive Committee and continued, paralleling all activities of the committee, committee appointments and undertakings. This consisted of straight news, editorial, and organization activities, and releases to all house organs, foreign language papers, and local publications. Through each of the indorsing organizations special appeals were made to memberships. For instance, the Hospital Council promoted organization and active support in all of the twenty-one hospitals in Cleveland; the federated churches issued statements to be read from the pulpits indorsing the hospital bonds and distributing literature; the Welfare Federation sent a letter to all of its member organizations urging cooperation and suggesting the method of securing both registration and support; a second letter was sent by the chairman making a personal appeal in the name of the Community Fund; the Academy of Medicine, over the signature of its president, sent letters to every member and inclosed material for distribution; the Cleveland Dental Society sent letters outlining a plan and procedure, also inclosing literature. Members of the Cleveland division of the Northern Ohio Druggists Association received printed material and instructions over the signature of their president. The League of Women Voters took an active part in the program, presenting a definite organization method in a letter to its membership, printing material in its organ, and cooperating in the First Voters' meeting. Through the Citizens' Bureau letters were sent to every new citizen who was entitled to vote for the first time this year.

Through the Cleveland Parent-Teachers Council speeches were arranged, and letters signed by the president were sent to members giving the reasons for the bond issue and requesting distribution of literature following the indorsement. The same procedure was carried out through the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Federation of Labor, the American Legion, and the Cleveland Deanery of the National Council of Catholic Women. A letter signed by the superintendent of the City Hospital was sent to all interested either through personal or family experience in care given there. The welfare director circularized the automobile dealers. Through the chairman all Community Fund keymen received material, including folders, ballots, and other material for distribution. A letter signed by the bishop of the diocese was read in all the Catholic churches the Sunday preceding election.

The foreign language publicity was worked out to the satisfaction of the foreign editors, so that a very real educational program was carried through, not only regarding the urgency of voting for the bonds but relating to the whole use of the City Hospital and Warrensville as city assets.

To finance the undertaking 200 letters were sent by the chairman to prominent men and women in Cleveland, asking for a donation necessary to pass the hospital bonds. From 106 people $3,610 was received, and cordial interest was manifested on the part of the givers. The Department of Public Health and Welfare furnished letter paper and envelopes and $880 in stamps, which took care of the distribution costs incident to these letters.

The budget as it was set up and as it was spent, is as follows:

	Set-up	Spent	
Printing	$1,000.00	$1,956.69	
Outdoor advertising	1,000.00	828.00	
Display advertising	500.00	1,201.82	
Artwork	50.00	22.05	
Poster	50.00	....	
Distribution	800.00	880.00	
Emergency	600.00	301.05	
	$4,000.00	$5,189.61	
Cash on hand		.39	
			$5,190.00

RECEIPTS

From donors	$3,610.00	
Stamps	880.00	
Health Education Fund	700.00	
		$5,190.00

The essential part of the program was the attention getters; this was worked out by the Committee on Publicity.

The first "stunt" was the use of the fire and police departments for poster displays. Every police and fire station and every bathhouse in the city carried banners in front of their buildings urging people to vote for the issue. The second was the big banners on the high level bridge, the central viaduct, the central market, and the traffic tower, the traffic tower sign being seen by hundreds of thousands of people and bringing in only one complaint from a pedestrian who felt that the sign might make the crossing unsafe.

A committee visit to the City Hospital was organized as a means of getting certain material regarding the hospital into the papers. This was eminently successful and, although only a small number were able to attend, it resulted in several pictures and news stories.

The radio was used every day for eight days preceding the campaign, and a special speech was made on Sunday. The radio hour secured was that which is used by the Shoppers' Guide, since this gave us entrée to the home women, who played such a part in the last election.

The airship, coming as it did on one of the most perfect autumn days, gave us city-wide publicity such as never has been secured by any other campaign stunt. In checking up afterward we found children all over the city carrying pictures of the blimp and saying very definitely what it meant. It is not possible to appreciate sufficiently the good the blimp did us in its good will mission.

Through the courtesy of the Democratic Committee a place was secured in the Saturday night parade preceding its evening meeting. Two hundred banners were carried by the marching band. Later these signs were placed all over the city, wherever the marchers came from.

One thousand paper banners were pasted by the bill posters all over the city. This was a gift on their part and was the finest piece of distribution possible, since the secretary of the union himself supervised the placement.

Through the cooperation of the Democratic and Republican parties a speaker was placed before every ward and precinct meeting held in Cleveland during the month preceding election.

While no accurate count was kept, the estimate shows that 450 meetings were thus personally addressed and literature distributed at the same time. It is impossible to estimate adequately the good this did, since after the speaker had made his presentation various other people on the platform would emphasize its importance, so adding the weight of their authority.

Boys from the School of Pharmacy of Western Reserve University undertook, for expenses, to cover all meetings with signs and material for distribution, so the audiences would have in their hands the hospital bond issue material before the speaker came to the program. They covered ninety-nine meetings and were very helpful in interesting other young men in the issue.

On the day preceding election a group of forty-five young men from the fraternities at Western Reserve University, under the direction of Republican headquarters, formed squads and distributed 15,000 folders and ballots to the employees of the big downtown department stores as they left work in the evening. A partial check-up on this indicates real interest on the part of the employees in the material and a few requests for more intimate information if another campaign was ever contemplated.

With the help of leading colored people an active campaign was put on through the churches in the district where many colored people live. This was done in a fine spirit, showing very definitely that they appreciated the human needs which these bonds were designed to meet. In addition they withheld their criticism of certain City Hospital conditions until after the campaign.

On election day surveys were made of special booths and it was found that under the superintendent of the garbage department and various other interested individuals, hospital bond issue ballots were being handed out in most of the congested districts. This served as a last minute reminder and gave an opportunity for explanation of the issues and how to mark for them.

The success of this bond issue I attribute to several reasons. The first is the careful study of the health situation in Cleveland which made these bonds necessary. This was presented by a study of the chronically ill individuals in Cleveland, made by Mr. Green, a study of the mentally ill people made by the Probate Court and the Psychiatric Division of City Hospital, and a study of the tuberculosis cases made by the Anti-Tuberculosis League. The second is the real confidence in the way the money would be spent. The third is the careful, extensive, and comprehending organization program.

A bond issue for a stadium, a public hall, or a hospital may be passed without having the absolute facts which showed the necessity of this bond issue, and if later facts show the need not to have been real it may mean the loss of confidence and prove a serious handicap to the whole city building program.

PROGRAM

PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

Wednesday, June 26—Presidential Address: Social Work, Cause and Function. Porter R. Lee, President, National Conference of Social Work, and Director, New York School of Social Work. Page 3.

Thursday, June 27—Pacific Relations. Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D., Secretary of the Interior, Washington. Page 21.

Trends in Social Reconstruction in China. John Stewart Burgess, Professor of Sociology, Yenching University, Peking. Page 45.

Friday, June 28—The Influence of the Press on Social Relations. Chester H. Rowell, President, California Conference of Social Work, Berkeley. Page 29.

Sunday, June 29—The New Morality and the Social Worker. Miriam Van Waters, Referee, Juvenile Court, Los Angeles. Page 65.

Tuesday, July 2—Unemployment and Progress. Paul U. Kellogg, Editor, *The Survey*, New York City. Page 80.

Wednesday, July 3—The Social Worker in Politics. William Hodson, Director, Welfare Council of New York City. Page 103.

DIVISION MEETINGS

DIVISION I. CHILDREN

I. (Joint Session with the Child Welfare League of America and the National Children's Home and Welfare Association)

Sign Posts on the Highway—Methods of Organization and Inter-Relationships in the Child Caring Field

Some Conclusions Based on a Series of Studies by the Child Welfare League of America. C. C. Carstens, Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York City. Page 115.

Some Conclusions Based on a Series of Studies by the Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference. Rose J. McHugh, Field Secretary, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference. Page 125.

II. (Joint Session with Division on Mental Hygiene, the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, the International Association of Policewomen, and the National Probation Association)

Courts and Case Work

Case Work Responsibility in Juvenile Courts. Grace Abbott, Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington. Page 153.

Reversing the Spotlight. Mental Attitudes of the Grownups in a Juvenile Court. Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia.

III. Group Discussion 1. Who, When, and How? Inter-Relationships of Child Caring Organizations. Discussion Leader: Eleanor D. Myers, Secretary, Children's Department, Community Council, St. Louis.

Group Discussion 2 (Joint Session with Girls' Protective Council). Hobble-de-Hoy. Wayward Minors Just Above the Usual Juvenile Court Age. Discussion Leader: John Plover, Probation Officer, Sonoma County, California.

Group Discussion 3. Spring Plowing. Organization of Children's Work in a Pioneer Field. Discussion Leader: Margaret Reeves, Director, Bureau of Child Welfare, New Mexico.

Group Discussion 4 (Joint Session with Mothers' Aid Group). Mothers' Aid. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Chairman, Mothers' Aid Group, Boston.

Group Discussion 5. Training Institutional Workers. Discussion Leader: R. R. Reeder, Director, Marsh Foundation School, Van Wert, Ohio.

IV. (Joint Session with California Conference of Social Work and National Association of Visiting Teachers)

Parental Values

Establishing Foster Parental Relationships. Mrs. Edith M. H. Baylor, Supervisor, Department of Study and Training, Children's Aid Society, Boston. Page 135.

Developing a Parental Relationship for Each Child in an Institution. Dr. Samuel Langer, Superintendent, Pacific Hebrew Orphan Asylum, San Francisco. Page 142.

Can Parental Education Be Applied? Gertrude Laws, Assistant Chief, Bureau of Parental Education, California Department of Education, Los Angeles. Page 147.

V. The Human Unit

Discovering and Developing Personality in an Institution for Delinquent Girls. Mrs. Fannie French Morse, Superintendent, New York State Training School for Girls, Hudson, New York.

Institutions for Delinquent Boys—Their Objectives and Methods. William F. Byron, Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, Evanston.

DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

I. (Joint Session with the National Probation Association)

Is the Juvenile Court Making Good?

The Court in Action. Miriam Van Waters, Referee, Juvenile Court, Los Angeles.

The Child and Probation. Hans Weiss, Probation Officer, Juvenile Court, Boston. Page 163.

II. Group Discussion 1. Medical Service in the Prison. Discussion Leader: Frank L. Rector, M.D., Chicago Medical Society.

Group Discussion 2. Education in the Prison. Discussion Leader: Austin H. MacCormick, National Society for Penal Information, New York City. Page 200.

Group Discussion 3. The Mexican as "Delinquent." Discussion Leader: Mrs. Ethel Richardson Allen, Department of Education, State of California.

III. (Joint Session with Division on Children and National Association of Visiting Teachers)

The School and Delinquency

Every School a Clinic. Dr. Elizabeth L. Woods, Director, Department of Psychology and Educational Research, Public Schools of Los Angeles. Page 213.

Education for Life. Dr. Henry Neuman, Leader, Society for Ethical Culture, Brooklyn.

IV. (Joint Session with Division on Mental Hygiene)

Human Nature under Authority

The Way the Twig Is Bent. James S. Plant, M.D., Director, Juvenile Clinic, Newark, New Jersey. Page 182.

The Prison as Character Builder. Jack Black, Author of *You Can't Win*, San Francisco. Page 191.

V. The Law in Action

How Criminal Justice Works. Raymond Moley, Professor of Government, Columbia University, New York City. Page 172.

Scientific Method and Criminal Justice. Sheldon Glueck, Assistant Professor of Criminology, Harvard Law School, and Eleanor T. Glueck, Research Assistant, Harvard Crime Survey, Cambridge.

DIVISION III. HEALTH

I. (Joint Session with American Social Hygiene Association)
  Syphilis and Gonorrhea—The Biggest Single Problem in the Health, Welfare, and Community Program
    The Extent. Thomas Parran, Jr., M.D., Assistant Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, Washington. Page 222.
    The Solution. William F. Snow, M.D., General Director, American Social Hygiene Association, New York City. Page 231.

II. The Economic Aspect of Medical Care
    The Health Angle. Bleecker Marquette, Executive Secretary, Public Health Federation, Cincinnati. Page 235.
    The Cost of Private Practice. Philip King Brown, M.D., Medical Director, Southern Pacific Hospital, San Francisco.
    Economy and Efficiency in Relief and Health Coordination. William P. Shepard, M.D., Assistant Secretary, Welfare Division, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, San Francisco. Page 241.

III. (Joint Session with Division on the Family)
  The Tuberculous Migrant—A Family Problem
    The Magnitude of the Problem. Jessamine S. Whitney, Statistician, National Tuberculosis Association, New York City. Page 249.
    The Way the Problem Is Handled from a Case Work Angle. Dorothy E. Wysor, General Secretary, Travelers' Aid Society, Los Angeles.

IV. The Health of the Preschool Child
    The Preschool Clinic. Ellen S. Stadmuller, M.D., Director, Bureau of Child Hygiene, California State Department of Public Health, Sacramento.
    The Nursery School. Mrs. Mary C. Jones, Research Associate, Institute of Child Welfare, University of California, Berkeley.
    Parental Education as a Means of Improving the Health of the Preschool Child. Herbert R. Stoltz, M.D., Director, Institute of Child Welfare, University of California, Berkeley.

V. Health Publicity and Human Emotions
    Some Psychological Experiments in Health Publicity. Virginia R. Wing, Director of Health Education, Health Council, Cleveland. Page 258.
    Discussion of the Use of Motivating Forces. H. A. Overstreet, Department of Philosophy, College of the City of New York.

DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

I. The Significance to the Child of Relationships within the Home. Herbert R. Stolz, M.D., Director, Institute of Child Welfare, University of California, Berkeley.
  New Emphases in Case Work Treatment. Lucille Nickel, Associate District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City.

II. Insurance Principles for Agencies Dealing with Dependent Families. Lee K. Frankel, Second Vice-President, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City. Page 264.
  What These Principles Mean to the Private Agency. Flora Slocum, Supervisor of Home Economics, Provident Association, St. Louis. Page 282.

What These Principles Mean to the Public Agency. R. R. Miller, Superintendent, Outdoor Relief Department, Division of Charities, Los Angeles.

III. Responsibility for the Method of Dealing with Major Problems

Group Discussion 1. The Chronically Ill. Discussion Leader: Harry L. Lurie, Superintendent, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago.

Group Discussion 2. The Changing Standard of Living in Families with Insufficient Income. Discussion Leader: Eva Smill, General Secretary, Family Service Society, New Orleans.

Group Discussion 3. The Feebleminded. Discussion Leader: Clarence A. Pretzer, General Secretary, Family Welfare Association, Scranton.

Group Discussion 4. Unassimilated Groups. Discussion Leader: Walter W. Whitson, General Secretary, Family Service Bureau, Houston.

IV. (Joint Session with Division on Professional Standards and Education)

The Professional Training of the Family Case Worker

From the Point of View of the Professional Schools. Frank L. Bruno, Department of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis. Page 298.

From the Point of View of the Family Field. Margaret E. Rich, Associate Executive Secretary, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, New York City. Page 286.

V. Unemployment

The Responsibility of the Case Working Agency. Edward D. Lynde, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Cleveland. Page 317.

Some New Problems for the Family Agency Arising Out of Industry. Nell Scott, Case Supervisor, Family Welfare Association, Pittsburgh. Page 309.

DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

I. Gains and Losses. Rev. Robert E. Lucey, Los Angeles. Page 329.

The Standard of Living. Mrs. Daisy Lee Worcester, Principal, Worcester School, San Diego. Page 337.

Financing the Family. Burr Blackburn, Director of Research, Household Finance Corporation, Chicago.

II. (Joint Session with the Industrial Problems Committee of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work)

Social Workers and Labor Unions

Mutual Aims. Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary-Treasurer, California State Federation of Labor.

Social Work Touches an Organized Industry. Nell Scott, Family Welfare Association, Pittsburgh. Page 354.

III. (Joint Session with Division on Health and the American Association for Labor Legislation)

Group Health Work

The Health Care of the University Student Body. Robert T. Legge, M.D., University of California, Berkeley.

Occupational Disease Compensation in California. Will J. French, Director, California Department of Industrial Relations. Page 365.

Health Care of Industrial Workers. Philip King Brown, M.D., Medical Director, Southern Pacific Hospital, San Francisco.

IV. (Joint Session with American Association for Labor Legislation)

Occupational Hazards and Workmen's Compensation

Preventing Coal Mine Explosions. O. F. McShane, Member, Utah Industrial Commission.

Compensation for Harbor Workers and Their Families. Warren H. Pillsbury, Deputy, Federal Compensation Commission.

A Safety Program for Maritime Work. Frank C. Gregory, Safety Engineer, Federal Compensation Commission. Page 370.

V. Group Discussion 1 (Joint Session with the Committee on Relations with Social Agencies of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations and the American Association for Labor Legislation)

The Collection of Unpaid Wages. Walter G. Matthewson, Chief, California Division of Labor Statistics.

Public and Private Employment Bureaus in California. Louis Bloch, Statistician, California Department of Industrial Relations.

Group Discussion 2. Women in Industry. Discussion Leader: Eleanor Copenhaver.

Group Discussion 3 (Joint Session with the American Federation of Leagues for the Hard of Hearing)

The Deaf and Deafened in Industry. Lois D. Brewer, Executive Secretary, League for the Hard of Hearing, San Francisco.

The Economic Effects of Deafness. Elizabeth E. Sargent, Assistant Secretary, American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing.

The Deafened Man as a Wage-Earner. H. D. Hicker, Chief of Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, California State Department of Education, San Francisco.

Placing the Deafened in Employment. Jeannette E. Condy, Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation, State Department of Education, San Francisco.

Giving the Deafened a Fair Chance. Mary Phelps Wheeler, General Secretary, United Charities, St. Paul.

DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

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Life in the United States for Mexican People, and Necessary Social Adjustments for Them and for the American Communities Where They Reside

Out of the Experience of A Mexican. Ernest Galarza. Page 399.

City Occupations. Jose Ramos.

II. Educating the Adult for Community Life. Mrs. Ethel Richardson Allen, Department of Education of the State of California.

III. Group Discussion 1 (Joint Session with American Association for Labor Legislation). Social Effects of Unemployment. Discussion Leader: Paul U. Kellogg, Editor, *The Survey*, New York City.

Group Discussion 2. The Group Activity—Has It a Significance to the Individual? Discussion Leader: Lois Williams, Playground Commission, San Francisco.

Group Discussion 3 (Joint Session with Girls' Protective Council). The Negro and Community Life. Discussion Leader: Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York City. Page 388.

Group Discussion 4. What Is a Community, and What Is the Individual's Responsibility to It? Discussion Leader: LeRoy H. Bowman, Columbia University, New York City.

Group Discussion 5. Regional and State Planning for Recreation. Discussion Leaders: Tam Deering, Executive Secretary, County Community Service for Parks, Playgrounds and Beaches, San Diego; L. A. Barrett, California Forest Service; B. B. Meek, Director of Public Works, California; Charles C. Cheney, Consultant Landscape Engineer.

IV. Local Approach to Community Problems. Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Head Resident, Elizabeth Peabody House, and Director, Simmons College School of Social Work, Boston. Page 377.

DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

I. (Joint Session with the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers)
Coordination of Effort in Mental Hygiene
Within the Clinic. E. Norman Van Emery, M.B., Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Los Angeles. Page 405.
Within the Community. Almena Dawley, Chief Social Worker, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia. Page 413.

II. Treatment as Affected by Mental Hygiene Principles
Evolution of a Treatment Philosophy in Child Guidance. Frederick H. Allen, M.D., Director, Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia. Page 422.
The Rôle and Aims of the Social Worker in Treatment. Lucille Nickel, Associate District Secretary, Charity Organization Society, New York City. Page 432.

III. (Joint Session with the National Association of Visiting Teachers)
Mental Hygiene in Our Schools
The Rôle of the Teacher in the Social Treatment of the Problem Child. Elizabeth Dexter, Head Visiting Teacher, Newark. Page 443.
The Teacher Who Feels She Is Failing. James S. Plant, M.D., Chief Psychiatrist, Essex County Clinic, Newark.

IV. Group Discussion 1. Development of Mental Hygiene through State Societies. George S. Johnson, M.D., Denver. Discussion Leaders: June Joslyn, Executive Secretary, Washington Society for Mental Hygiene; George S. Stevenson, M.D., National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.
Group Discussion 2. The Application of Mental Hygiene in Courts and Correctional Institutions. Discussion Leader: Norman Fenton, Director, Bureau of Juvenile Research, Whittier, California.
Group Discussion 3. Mental Hygiene Values in Adult Education. Discussion Leader: Gertrude Laws, Assistant Chief, Bureau of Parent Education, State of California.
Group Discussion 4. School Teachers and Their Relation to Mental Hygiene. Discussion Leaders: Hazel A. Hendricks, Chief of School Service, Board of Education, Los Angeles; Elizabeth Dexter, Head Visiting Teacher, Public Schools of Newark.

V. Mental Hygiene as a Broad Educational Venture
Educational Values of Mental Hygiene. Kathleen Ormsby Larkin, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.
Development of a Specific Program in the Community. George S. Johnson, M.D., Colorado Psychopathic Hospital, Denver. Page 452.

DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

I. Measuring Social Work Results for Administrative Purposes
Tools for Measuring Social Work Results. Raymond Clapp, Director, Welfare Federation, Cleveland.
Discovering New Tools of Measurement. A. W. McMillen, Director, Registration of Social Statistics, University of Chicago. Page 461.

II. Group Discussion 1. What Is the Unique Contribution of the National Conference of Social Work to the Organization of Social Forces? Discussion Leader: Robert W. Kelso, Director, Community Council and Fund, St. Louis.

Group Discussion 2. What Is the Unique Contribution of State Conferences of Social Work to the Organization of Social Forces? Discussion Leader: George R. Bedinger, Executive Secretary, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Group Discussion 3. What Is the Unique Contribution to the Organization of Social Forces of Annual or Biennial Meetings of National Organizations with a Single Social Work Interest? Discussion Leader: Frank J. Bruno, Department of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis.

Group Discussion 4. What Is the Unique Contribution to the Organization of Social Forces of the Local or City-wide Conferences of Social Work? Discussion Leader: John F. Hall, Director, Welfare Federation and Community Chest, Omaha.

III. Community Fund Services

The Place of the Community Chest in Human Relations. C. M. Bookman, Executive Secretary, Community Chest and Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati. Page 477.

National Services of Community Chests to Social Work. Allen T. Burns, Executive Director, Association of Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

IV. Making State Conferences of Social Work Effective

A Year-Round Program. Charles F. Hall, State Board of Control, St. Paul.

The State Conference and State Resources for Local Community Work. J. H. Rainwater, Secretary, Community Welfare Council, San Diego.

V. The Work of a Council of Social Agencies

Getting a Community Plan. William Hodson, Executive Director, Welfare Council, New York City. Page 485.

Developing Social Programs in a Local Community. Charles C. Stillman, Welfare Union, Grand Rapids. Page 497.

DIVISION IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

I. (Joint Session with Division on Children)

Is the County or the State the Better Unit for the Care of Dependent Children?

The Service Each Can Best Render. C. C. Carstens, Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York City.

County Care of Adjustment and Rehabilitation Cases—State Care of Permanent Placements. Louis H. Putnam, Director of State Institutions, Providence.

State versus County Welfare Units. Frank E. Kimball, Executive Secretary, State Board of Charities and Correction, Jefferson City.

II. (Joint Session with Division on Organization of Social Forces)

The Coordination of Public and Private Social Work

George B. Mangold, Professor of Sociology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

Ida M. Cannon, Chief of Social Service, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston. Page 506.

III. Welfare as a Function of Government

How Far Should Public Social Service Be Expanded?

Do Party Politics Paralyze Philanthropy? Major Charles S. Ford, Social Service Commissioner, Ottawa, Canada.

Some Statistical Comparisons of Public and Private Family Social Work. A. W. McMillen, Director, Registration of Social Statistics, University of Chicago. Page 514.

State Standards in the Supervision of Boarding Homes for Children and for Aged Persons. Mrs. Anna L. Saylor, Director of Social Welfare, Sacramento; Roy J. Battis, Superintendent of Child Welfare, Illinois Department of Public Welfare, Chicago; Esther DeTurbeville, Department of Social Welfare, State of California, Sacramento.

IV. Group Discussion 1. Which State Is Responsible for the Care of a Dependent Person Who Moves between States? Discussion Leader: Philip A. Parsons, Professor of Sociology, University of Oregon, Eugene.

Group Discussion 2. The Supervision of Education in State Industrial Schools

Maintenance or Training—Can They Be Combined? Kenyon J. Scudder, Superintendent, Industrial School, Whittier, California.

What Should Be the Educational Program of Correctional Institutions? O. H. Close, Superintendent, Preston School of Industries, Ione, California.

Group Discussion 3. Ten Years of Public Welfare Legislation. Discussion Leaders: Robert W. Kelso, Director, Council of Social Agencies, St. Louis; John B. Andrews, Secretary, American Association of Labor Legislation, New York City.

V. The Organization of State and County Welfare Departments, with Special Emphasis upon the Departments of the Pacific Coast. Robert G. Sproul, President, University of California, Berkeley; John A. Brown, Secretary, Indiana Board of State Charities, Indianapolis. Page 523.

DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

I. (Joint Session with Division on Neighborhood and Community Life)

Mexicans in the United States

Mexican Immigrants as Workers. Robert N. McLean, Associate Director, Spanish Speaking Work, Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, Los Angeles. Page 531.

Report on Recent Studies

Mexican Families in Transit North through the Inland Port of San Antonio. Annie Clo Watson, Executive, International Institute of Young Women's Christian Association, San Antonio.

Conditions Surrounding Resident Mexican Families. Anita Jones, United States Children's Bureau, Washington.

II. A Consideration of a Control of Migration between the United States and Mexico through International Agreement

Control of Migration through International Agreements. Leifur Magnusson, Director, Washington Branch, International Labor Office of the League of Nations, Washington. Page 539.

As Applied to the Question of Migration between Mexico and the United States. Max Handman, Department of Economics and Sociology, University of Texas.

Open Debate: The International versus a Quota Method of Control.

III. The American Indians: The Old Order Passes. What of the New?

The Indian Problem

A Challenge to American Capacity for Social Service. Lewis Meriam, Technical Director, Survey of Indian Affairs of the Institute for Government Research of Brookings Institute, Washington. Page 548.

As Viewed through the Eyes of an Indian. Henry Roe Cloud, President, American Indian Institute, Wichita. Page 559.

IV. First Generation Americans of Oriental Stock: An Asset to the Community

A Summary of the Present Situation. Martha A. Chickering, Chairman, Racial and Citizenship Section, California Conference of Social Work.

The Second Generation among the Japanese. Dr. Roy Hidemichi Akagi, Secretary, Pacific Coast Council, Japanese Students' Christian Association in North America, Los Angeles.

The Second Generation of the Chinese. Ching Wah Lee, Secretary, for Boys' and Young Men's Department, Chinese Branch, Young Men's Christian Association, San Francisco.

V. The General Naturalization Situation

The Need for Social Vision in Our Naturalization Policy. Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago.

Changing Philosophy in the United States toward Citizenship by Adoption. Constantine Panunzio, Director, Neighborhood House and Sociological Laboratory, San Diego. Page 567.

Foreign Migrations within United States Territory: The Filipino People; the Hawaiian and Porto Rican People. S. E. Bogardus, Department of Sociology, University of Southern California, Los Angeles. Page 573.

DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

I. (Joint Session with the Committee on Relations with Social Agencies of the National Association of Legal Aid Organizations)

Professional Standards in New Fields of Social Work

Professional Standards for Chest and Council Executives. Irene Farnham Conrad, Director, Council of Social Agencies, New Orleans. Page 580.

Professional Standards for Publicity Specialists. C. C. Stillman, Director, Welfare Union, Grand Rapids.

Professional Standards for Legal Aid Clinics. Justin Miller, Dean, Law School, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.

II. Group Discussion 1 (Joint Session with the American Association of Hospital Social Workers). Social Case Work. Discussion Leader: M. Antoinette Cannon, School of Social Work, New York City.

Group Discussion 2. Group and Community Work. Discussion Leader: Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Director, Simmons College School of Social Work, Boston.

Group Discussion 3. Administration of Social Agencies. Discussion Leader: Raymond Clapp, Director, Welfare Federation, Cleveland.

Group Discussion 4. Mental Hygiene Training for Social Work. Discussion Leader: Elizabeth H. Dexter, Visiting Teacher, Public Schools, Newark.

III. Methods of Raising Professional Standards

The California Plan for the State Certification of Social Workers. Mrs. Harriet J. Eliel, League of Women Voters, Berkeley. Page 596.

The Rôle of Civil Service in Professional Standards of Public Social Agencies. Harry L. Lurie, Superintendent, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago. Page 605.

IV. Education in Social Work

Problems of Professional Education for Social Work. Jessica B. Peixotto, Professor of Social Economics, University of California, Berkeley.

The Integration of Specialized Fields of Social Work in Professional Schools. Walter W. Pettit, Assistant Director, School of Social Work, New York City. Page 587.

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

I. (Joint Session with Division on Industrial and Economic Problems)

Public Speaking Clinic. Old Age Pensions (as presented to several audiences)

Church Club. Charles O. Lee, Director, Community Fund, Tulsa.

Legislative Committee. Esther DeTurbeville, Supervisor of County Work and Homes for the Aged, Sacramento.

Labor Union. Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., Dean, Loyola University School of Sociology, Chicago.

Luncheon Club. Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary, Children's Aid Society, New York City.

II. (Joint Session with Division on Public Officials and Administration)

Arousing Voters to Action. Bond Issue and Legislative Campaigns

The Story of a State Campaign. George R. Bedinger, Executive Director, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

The Story of a City Campaign. Virginia R. Wing, Executive Secretary, Anti-Tuberculosis Society, Cleveland. Page 620.

III. (Joint Session with State Conference Secretaries)

Better and Better Meetings. When Social Workers Confer or Social Work Is Talked About

(This session to be conducted by a group of fifteen who have studied the subject in advance.)

IV. Community Groups as Publicity Channels

Enlisting clubs, societies, and associations. How can the scores or hundreds of organizations in a community be utilized in spreading information among their members and those with whom they come in contact? What is their place in the publicity program?

The Club Life of "Middletown." Reviewed by John D. Kenderdine, Business Manager, *The Survey*, New York City.

Publicity Assignments for Clubs and Societies.

Snags that May Scuttle Cooperation: "Our Town Is Different."

Enlisting Volunteer Energies and Talents.

V. Meeting Prejudices and Misinformation

What Might Be Done about It Next Year?

Five Group Conferences: 1. Professional Social Work. 2. Industrial and Economic. 3. Health. 4. The Family. 5. The Foreign Born.

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PART I

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Howard W. Odum	Chapel Hill
Rev. Frederic Siedenburg	Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1930

C. C. Carstens	New York
Dorothea de Schweinitz	Bethlehem
Philip A. Parsons	Eugene
Arthur J. Todd	Evanston
Gertrude Vaile	Chapel Hill

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Henrietta S. Additon	Bryn Mawr
F. Stuart Chapin	Minneapolis
Elizabeth Dixon	Chicago
C. E. North	Columbus, Ohio
Kenneth L. M. Pray	Philadelphia

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman, Evart G. Routzahn, New York.
Vice-Chairman, Louise Clevenger, St. Paul.
Secretary, Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, New Orleans.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

George Bedinger	Philadelphia
Margaret F. Byington	Hartford
Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad	New Orleans
Bruno Lasker	New York
Mary Ross	New York

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Paul Bliss	St. Louis
Homer W. Borst	Indianapolis
Louise Clevenger	St. Paul
Bernard C. Roloff	Chicago
Mrs. Mary Swain Routzahn	New York

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Glen Adams	Chicago
Louise Franklin Bache	New York
Thomas Devine	Memphis
Olga Gunkle	Denver
Robert Horan	Dallas

PART II

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1930

Officers

President, Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles.

First Vice-President, Karl De Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President, Rose J. McHugh, Washington; Third Vice-President, Walter W. Whitson, Houston.

Treasurer, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati.

General Secretary, Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio.

Executive Committee

Ex officio: Miriam Van Waters, President; Karl De Schweinitz, First Vice-President; C. M. Bookman, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1930:* Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Chicago; Mary A. Cannon, New York; Edwin G. Ecklund, Springfield, Illinois; Louise Cottrell, Chicago; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York; Philip Klein, New York; Gertrude Vaile, Chapel Hill. *Term expiring 1931:* Jane Addams, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Owen R. Lovejoy, New York; J. Prentice Murphy, Philadelphia; Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1932:* Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis; Bradley Buell, New Orleans; Edith N. Burleigh, Los Angeles; Margaret E. Rich, New Orleans; Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Boston. *Chairmen of Divisions:* Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York; George W. Kirchwey, New York; Ira Hiscock, New Haven; Paul L. Benjamin, Louisville; Rev. Frederic Siedenberg, Chicago; Mrs. Robert A. Woods, San Diego; Henry C. Schumacher, Cleveland; David Holbrook, New York; Richard K. Conant, Boston; Mrs. Adena Miller Rich, Chicago; Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis; Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio.

Committee on Program

Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles, Chairman; Porter R. Lee, New York; Howard R. Knight, Columbus. *Term expiring 1930:* Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford; Harry L. Lurie, Chicago. *Term expiring 1931:* Almena Dawley, Philadelphia; Rev. Robert F. Keegan, New York. *Term expiring 1932:* Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, New Orleans; Shelby M. Harrison, New York.

Committee on Nominations

Howard S. Braucher, New York, Chairman; Mrs. Mary Clarke Burnett, Pittsburgh; Ida M. Cannon, Boston; Anita Eldridge, San Francisco; James L. Fieser, Washington; Eugene Kinckle Jones, New York; Rev. William J. Kerby, Washington; Aaron M. Lopez, Erie; Blanche Renard, St. Louis.

Committee on Resolutions

Grace Abbott, Washington, Chairman; Ernest P. Bicknell, Washington; Pearl C. Salsberry, Minneapolis.

Committee on Time and Place

Alfred F. Whitman, Boston, Chairman; Mrs. Edith M. H. Baylor, Boston; Jessie F. Binford, Chicago; John S. Bradway, Los Angeles; Linna Bresette, Washington; Agnes Scott Donaldson, Colorado Springs; Rev. Matthew L. Fortier, New York; Bertha B. Howell, St. Louis; Elizabeth McMechen, Salt Lake City; Charles E. Miner, Chicago; J. Prentice

Murphy, Philadelphia; Stuart A. Queen, Lawrence, Kansas; Stockton Raymond, Boston; Ellery F. Reed, Cincinnati; Frances Taussig, New York; Arlien Johnson, Seattle; Aubrey W. Williams, Madison; Elizabeth L. Woods, Los Angeles; Dorothy E. Wysor, Los Angeles.

Committee on the American Indian

Lewis Meriam, Washington, Chairman; Edith Abbott, Chicago; Franz Boas, New York; Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer, New York; Henry Roe Cloud, Wichita; John Collier, Mill Valley; Edith Dabb, New York; Charles de Y. Elkus, San Francisco; Haven Emerson, M.D., New York; James Ford, Cambridge, Mass.; Alexander Goldenweiser, New York; Rev. William Hughes, Washington; Alexander Johnson, Croton-on-Hudson; Paul U. Kellogg, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia; Bruno Lasker, New York; Henriette Lund, Los Angeles; Mary Louise Mark, Columbus, Ohio; Jay B. Nash, New York; Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington; W. Carson Ryan, Swarthmore; M. K. Sniffen, Philadelphia.

Editorial Committee

Porter R. Lee, President; Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio, Editor; Mrs. Bertha Freeman Hooper, Chicago, Assistant Editor; Bleecker Marquette, Cincinnati, 1930; Jane M. Hoey, New York, 1931; Joanna C. Colcord, New York, 1932.

DIVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

DIVISION I. CHILDREN

Chairman, Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart, New York.
Vice-Chairman, Jacob Kepecs, Chicago.
Secretary, Elizabeth Yerxa, Madison.

Committee

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Amy Abbott	Cheyenne	A. Percy Paget	Winnipeg
Rev. A. T. Jamison	Greenwood, S.C.	Margaret Reeves	Santa Fe
Katherine Lenroot	Washington	C. V. Williams	Chicago
Mrs. W. L. Murdoch	Birmingham		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Mrs. Gertrude Dubinsky	Philadelphia	Eleanor Myers	St. Louis
Everett E. Duvall	New Haven	Claire Sanders	Detroit
Anita Eldridge	San Francisco	L. Josephine Webster	Montpelier
Douglas Falconer	Buffalo		

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Samuel Langer	San Francisco	Mrs. A. M. Tunstall	Montgomery
Caroline deF. Penniman	Middletown, Conn.	Ethel Verry	Chicago
Emma C. Puschner	Indianapolis	Alfred F. Whitman	Boston
Edwin D. Solenberger	Philadelphia		

DIVISION II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTIONS

Chairman, George W. Kirchwey, New York.
Vice-Chairman, Edith Abbott, Chicago.
Secretary, Edward R. Cass, New York.

Committee

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Edward R. Cass . . . . New York
Lincoln Frost . . . . Lincoln
Hastings H. Hart . . . . New York
Herbert C. Parsons . . . . Boston
Caroline deF. Penniman . Middletown, Conn.
Roscoe Pound . . . . Cambridge, Mass.
John J. Sonsteby . . . . Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Sheldon Glueck . . . . Cambridge, Mass.
Jane M. Hoey . . . . New York
Howard W. Odum . . . . Chapel Hill
E. H. Sutherland . . . . New York
Miriam Van Waters . . . . Los Angeles
Charles Vasaly . . . . St. Cloud

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Edith Abbott . . . . Chicago
Jessie F. Binford . . . . Chicago
Mrs. Jessie Hodder . . . . Framingham
Louis N. Robinson . . . . Swarthmore
Franklin Wilson . . . . Muncy, Pa.

DIVISION III. HEALTH

Chairman, Ira Hiscock, New Haven.
Vice-Chairman, Jessamine S. Whitney, New York.
Secretary, Virginia R. Wing, Cleveland.

Committee

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Grace Abbott . . . . Washington
Anna Drake . . . . Cincinnati
Robert W. Kelso . . . . St. Louis
John A. Lapp . . . . Milwaukee
William F. Snow, M.D. . . . . New York

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Donald Armstrong, M.D. . . . . New York
Richard Bowderick . . . . Oakland
Courtenay Dinwiddie . . . . New York
Mary L. Hicks . . . . Louisville
William F. Higby . . . . San Francisco
Albert Jewell . . . . Kansas City
Jessie I. Lummis . . . . Denver
Helen MacMurchy, M.D. . . . . Ottawa
Mary E. Murphy . . . . Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Haven Emerson, M.D. . . . . New York
Howard W. Green . . . . Cleveland
Bleecker Marquette . . . . Cincinnati
Katharine Tucker . . . . New York
Charles F. Wilinsky . . . . Boston
C. E. A. Winslow . . . . New Haven

DIVISION IV. THE FAMILY

Chairman, Paul L. Benjamin, Louisville.
Vice-Chairman, Anna F. Kempshall, New York.
Secretary, Francis H. McLean, New York.

Committee

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Harriet E. Anderson . . . . Louisville
W. S. Bixby . . . . Nashville
Lucia B. Clow . . . . Milwaukee
Helen W. Hanchette . . . . Cleveland
Nell Scott . . . . Pittsburgh
Gertrude Vaile . . . . Chapel Hill

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Mary F. Bogue	New York	Anna F. Kempshall	New York
Josephine Brown	New York	Mary Russell	Memphis
Cora Jacobs	Madison	Eva Smill	New Orleans

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Caroline M. Bedford	St. Louis	Jesse M. Lukens	Brockton, Mass.
Ruth Fitzsimons	Seattle	Clarence A. Pretzer	Providence
Paul L. Benjamin	Louisville	Jessie F. Sutton	Chicago

DIVISION V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Chairman, Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago.
Vice-Chairman, Rev. F. Ernest Johnson, New York.
Secretary, John B. Andrews, New York.

Committee

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Eleanor Copenhaver	New York	John A. Lapp	Milwaukee
Emil Frankel	Trenton	Laura Parker	Califon, N.J.
Mrs. R. F. Halleck	Louisville	Jesse O. Thomas	Atlanta
Mrs. Florence Kelley	New York		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

John B. Andrews	New York	Rev. A. A. Heist	Denver
Mrs. Katherine P. Edson	San Francisco	Paul U. Kellogg	New York
John A. Fitch	New York	Rev. Frederic Siedenburg	Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Mary Anderson	Washington	Alice Hamilton, M.D.	Boston
Lucy P. Carner	New York	Leifur Magnusson	Washington
Elizabeth Christman	Chicago	Ellen Nathalie Matthews	Washington
Paul H. Douglas	Chicago	Edward F. McGrady	Washington
Oliver Friedman	Milwaukee	Mabel A. Strong	Boston

DIVISION VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, Mrs. Robert A. Woods, San Diego.
Vice-Chairman, John L. Elliott, New York.
Secretary, Clarence A. Perry, New York.

Committee

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Mrs. Grace E. Chaffee	Iowa City	Elmer E. Scott	Dallas
Robbins Gilman	Minneapolis	Mrs. Eva Whiting White	Boston
R. Maurice Moss	Baltimore		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Jane Addams	Chicago	Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad	New Orleans
Elizabeth Ashe	San Francisco	Corinne Fonde	Houston
LeRoy E. Bowman	New York	Mrs. Robert A. Woods	San Diego

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Mrs. Ethel Richardson Allen	Los Angeles
George A. Bellamy	Cleveland
Charles C. Cooper	Pittsburgh
Eugene Kinckle Jones	New York
Paul U. Kellogg	New York
E. C. Lindeman	New York
Mary E. McDowell	Chicago
J. H. Montgomery	Richmond
Lea D. Taylor	Chicago

DIVISION VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Henry Schumacher, Cleveland.
Secretary, Maida Soloman, Boston.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Herbert Chamberlain	Minneapolis
Almena Dawley	Philadelphia
Elizabeth Dexter	New York
E. Van Norman Emery, M.B.	Los Angeles
Grace Marcus	New York
Christine Robb	New York
Sarah Swift	New York

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Sylvia Allen	Charleston
Hester B. Crutcher	New Haven
Sarah Ivins	New York
Nancy Johnson	St. Louis
Bradford J. Murphey	Colorado Springs
Emerson A. North	Cincinnati
E. Perry	Dallas
George Stevenson	New York

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Edith N. Burleigh	Los Angeles
Adeline Dewey	Boston
Mrs. W. F. Dummer	Chicago
June Joslyn	Seattle
Paul Kubitschek	St. Louis
Jeanette Regensburg	New York
Florence Sytz	New Orleans

DIVISION VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, David Holbrook, New York.
Vice-Chairman, Louise Clevenger, St. Paul.
Secretary, Pierce Atwater, Wichita.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1930

C. M. Bookman	Cincinnati
Roy M. Cushman	Boston
Robert W. Kelso	St. Louis
Howard W. Odum	Chapel Hill
Elizabeth H. Webster	Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Otto F. Bradley	Minneapolis
Raymond Clapp	Cleveland
Mrs. George H. Clarke	Los Angeles
Arthur Dunham	Philadelphia
Mary Stotsenberg	Louisville

TERM EXPIRES 1932

William F. Higby	San Francisco
William Hodson	New York
Henry T. Levy	Dallas
A. W. McMillen	Chicago
Mabel E. Pierson	Plainfield, N.J.

DIVISION IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, Richard K. Conant, Boston.
Vice-Chairman, John L. Gillin, Madison.
Secretary, Louis H. Putnam, Stapleton, N.Y.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Herman Adler, M.D.	Chicago
Frank Bane	Richmond
Grube B. Cornish	Augusta, Me.
Louise Cottrell	Chicago
H. Ida Curry	New York
Emil Frankel	Trenton
William C. Headrick	Nashville
A. Percy Paget	Winnipeg
Louis H. Putnam	Stapleton, N.Y.

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Jeffrey R. Brackett	Boston
Mrs. Amy S. Braden	San Francisco
John A. Brown	Indianapolis
William J. Ellis	Trenton
John L. Gillin	Madison
Charles H. Johnson	Albany
James S. Lakin	Charleston, W.Va.

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Grace Abbott	Washington
A. L. Bowen	Springfield, Ill.
Amos W. Butler	Indianapolis
Lincoln Frost	Lincoln
Frank E. Kimball	Jefferson City
Mrs. Blanche L. La Du	St. Paul
Mrs. E. S. H. McCauley	Harrisburg
Mrs. Anna L. Saylor	Sacramento
George S. Wilson	Washington

DIVISION X. THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Mrs. Adena Miller Rich, Chicago.
Vice-Chairman, Ida Hull, Boston.
Secretary, Grace Love, San Francisco.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Georgia Ely	Boston
Mary E. McDowell	Chicago
Leifur Magnusson	Washington
Mrs. Adena Miller Rich	Chicago
Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell	Pittsburgh
Forrester B. Washington	Atlanta
Aghavnie Yeghenian	New York

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Edith Abbott	Chicago
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge	Chicago
Herbert A. Miller	Columbus, Ohio
Bruce Mohler	Washington
Philip A. Parsons	Eugene, Ore.
Cecilia Razovsky	New York
Marion Schibsby	New York

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Jane Addams	Chicago
Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer	New York
Florence Cassidy	New York
Max Handman	Austin
Elsie Jones	Columbus, Ohio
Ruth Larned	New York
Lewis Meriam	Washington
Rev. Robert N. McLean	Los Angeles
Lea D. Taylor	Chicago
Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer	Boston

DIVISION XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman, Frank J. Bruno, St. Louis.
Vice-Chairman, Joanna C. Colcord, New York.
Secretary, Rose J. McHugh, Washington.

Committee

TERM EXPIRES 1930

C. C. Carstens	New York	Arthur J. Todd	Evanston
Dorothea de Schweinitz	Philadelphia	Gertrude Vaile	Chapel Hill
Philip A. Parsons	Eugene, Ore.		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Henrietta S. Additon	New York	Cecil C. North	Columbus, Ohio
F. Stuart Chapin	New York	Kenneth L. M. Pray	Philadelphia
Elizabeth Dixon	Chicago		

TERM EXPIRES 1932

Henry M. Busch	Cleveland	Jesse F. Steiner	New Orleans
Martha A. Chickering	Piedmont, Calif.	Walter M. West	New York
Bessie A. McClenahan	Los Angeles		

DIVISION XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman, Charles C. Stillman, Columbus, Ohio.
Vice-Chairman, Mary Ross, New York.
Secretary, Edwin C. Jones, Chicago.

Committee

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Paul Bliss	St. Louis	Bernard C. Roloff	Chicago
Homer W. Borst	New York	Mrs. Mary Swain Routzahn	New York
Louise Clevenger	St. Paul		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Louise Franklin Bache	New York	Olga Gunkle	Denver
Thomas Devine	Jacksonville, Fla.	Robert Horan	Louisville

TERM EXPIRES 1932

F. D. Preston	Richmond	Chester H. Rowell	Berkeley
Ralph J. Reed	Omaha	Virginia R. Wing	Cleveland
E. G. Routzahn	New York	H. L. White	Boston

PART III

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Thursday, June 27, 1929, 8:00 P.M.

The President of the Conference, Mr. Lee, announced the appointment of the following Committees:

Committee on Election: Robert W. Kelso, Missouri, Chairman; Mrs. Helen Artieda, California; Guy T. Justis, Colorado; Ralph Barrow, Connecticut; Robert E. Bondy, Washington; Helen Beckley, Illinois; Ralph J. Reed, Iowa; Gertrude Vaile, North Carolina; Belle Boyson, Ohio; Pearl C. Salsberry, Minnesota.

Committee on Tellers: Cheney C. Jones, Massachusetts, Chairman; Roy E. Bowman, New York; Helen I. Fisk, New York; Dorothy E. Wysor, California.

The report of the Committee on Nominations being called for, Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, New Orleans, presented the following report:

> The Nominating Committee presents the following candidates: For President: C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati, Miriam Van Waters, Los Angeles; First Vice-President: Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Second Vice-President: Rose J. McHugh, Chicago; Third Vice-President: Walter W. Whitson, Houston. For members of the Executive Committee: Otto F. Bradley, Minneapolis; Bradley Buell, New Orleans; Edith N. Burleigh, Los Angeles; M. Antoinette Cannon, New York; Richard K. Conant, Boston; Edwin G. Ecklund, Springfield, Illinois; Jane M. Hoey, New York; Margaret E. Rich, New York; Frances Taussig, New York; Mrs. Eva Whiting White, Boston.
>
> Respectfully submitted,
>
> Irene Farnham Conrad, *Chairman*

Friday, June 28, 1929, 8:00 P.M.

The President, Mr. Lee, announced the Committee on Resolutions as follows: Joel D. Hunter, Illinois, Chairman; Harriet E. Anderson, Kentucky; George S. Wilson, District of Columbia.

At the request of the President, Mr. Robert W. Kelso, Missouri, Chairman of the Committee on Elections, outlined the arrangements made for conducting the election and explained the regulations governing the voting privilege.

Saturday, June 29, 1929, 11:00 A.M.

President Lee called the Annual Business Session of the Conference to order, about three hundred delegates being present.

The Treasurer presented the auditor's report for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1929.[1] Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the Treasurer's report be accepted and placed on file.

The proposed amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws of the Conference, recommended by the Executive Committee, were then called for. Upon the request of the chair, the General Secretary presented the first amendment having to do with the organization of the Program Committee of the Conference and briefly explained its provisions, the amendment having been printed in full in the May *Bulletin.*

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[1] The auditor's report is on file in the offices of the Secretary and of the Treasurer. The annual financial statement was also published in full in the August, 1929, *Bulletin*.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to amend Section IV of the By-Laws, entitled "Appointment of Committees," by omitting (*c*) and adding to the end thereof the following:

2. Program Committee.

There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, and six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

1. To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Division and Kindred Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

2. To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

3. To determine from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

4. To recommend to Division Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Division Committees.

5. To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference program, either General Sessions or Divisions. Where such commitments are made for Division programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Division involved or with its hearty cooperation and consent, and for not more than two of the five meetings now allowed each Division.

6. To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Divisions.

7. To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

8. To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

9. To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Kindred Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

10. To execute such other functions as from time to time may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

11. To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

The amendment having to do with the voting privilege of institutional members, as recommended by the Executive Committee and printed in the May *Bulletin,* was then presented. Miss Grace Abbott, Washington, presented a substitute amendment. After discussion and upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to substitute for the proposed amendment the following: That Section VIII of the By-Laws, entitled "Business Sessions," be amended by adding to the end thereof in a new paragraph the following:

The representative of an institutional member, who is not himself a member of the Conference, shall have the right of discussion but not of vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work.

The question being called for, and after motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to amend the Constitution and the By-Laws of the Conference as indicated in the foregoing.

The report of the Committee on Time and Place being called for, Mr. John F. Hall, Omaha, presented the report of the Committee as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

In accordance with the action taken at the fifty-fifth annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work by which the selection of the Conference city is henceforth to be made two years in advance, the Committee on Time and Place presents recommendations both for the 1930 and the 1931 Conference.

When considering the invitations, the committee first eliminated requests coming from convention bureaus or other sources which were unsupported by the social workers of the cities in question.

The committee gave full consideration to invitations from the following cities: for the 1930 Conference, Atlantic City and Boston; for the 1931 Conference, Detroit, Kansas City, Minneapolis, and Omaha.

Each of these cities presented evidence that it had adequate facilities for the proper entertainment of the Conference and that its invitation was sponsored by the social agencies as well as by convention bureaus and other prominent civic groups.

In its discussion, the committee had the following points in mind: the needs of the treasury of the National Conference; and geographic localities from which the invitations came and the recency with which these various sections had been served by the Conference; the social work background of the cities, and the special features of social work interest afforded; the ability to meet the financial and membership requirements of the Conference; the ability to provide adequate meeting places and to house delegates conveniently and comfortably.

Weighing these factors, the Committee on Time and Place unanimously recommends to the Executive Committee that the 1930 Conference be held at Boston. It further recommends unanimously that the 1931 Conference be held at Minneapolis. It is recommended that the time of the Conference be left to the Executive Committee.

(*Signed*)
Charles F. Hall
David C. Holbrook
June J. Joslyn
Charles N. Lathrop
Helen M. Riddick
Alice Read Saxby
Linton B. Swift
Forrester B. Washington
Mrs. Sam Weinstock
Mrs. Eva Whiting White
Dorothy E. Wysor
John F. Hall, *Chairman*

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the report be divided as to the recommendations for 1930 and 1931 and the vote on place of meeting each year be taken separately. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the recommendation of the Committee that the Conference meet in Boston in 1930 be adopted.

A motion was duly made and seconded that the recommendation of the Committee for the meeting place of the Conference in 1931 be amended by the substitution of the name Kansas City for that of Minneapolis.

A motion was duly made and seconded that the amendment be amended by substituting the name Omaha for that of Kansas City. After thorough discussion and further explanation of the recommendations of the Time and Place Committee by the Chairman, the question having been called, the amendment to the amendment was put to vote and lost. The amendment to the original recommendation was put to vote and lost.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, the recommendation of the Committee that the 1931 meeting of the Conference be held at Minneapolis was adopted.

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the Executive Committee be instructed to study the relationship of this Conference to the next International Conference of Social Work and recommend, at the next annual meeting, a policy for the National Conference of Social Work on the question of participation in the International Conference of Social Work.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Tuesday, July 2, 1929, 8:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions being called for, Mr. Joel D. Hunter, Illinois, presented the following report:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS the City of San Francisco has been such a splendid meeting place for the fifty-sixth annual Conference of Social Work and

WHEREAS we, the delegates to that Conference have received such a sincere welcome, have been so royally entertained, and have found all the plans for the Conference meetings so well carried out; therefore be it

Resolved that we as a Conference express our gratitude for the painstaking attention which has been given to the minutest detail of the Conference and for the thoughtfulness and openhanded courtesy that every citizen of San Francisco has shown.

We cannot speak of all the individuals and groups that have added to our pleasure and profit, but we would be remiss if we did not mention the San Francisco Committee on Arrangements, its chairman, Mr. J. C. Astredo and its secretary-treasurer, Miss Anita Eldridge. On their shoulders the great responsibility lay and we all now take off our hats to them as excellent leaders and fine executives.

These two leaders are both public servants. The public bodies of California—State, County and City—have had more to do with this Conference just closing than with any other.

Therefore we desire to express our gratitude to the Governor of California, the Honorable C. C. Young; to the Mayor of San Francisco, the Honorable James Rolph, Jr.; to the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, especially to its chairman, the Honorable James B. McSheehy and the chairman and members of its other committees who have rendered such efficient service, particularly the Auditorium and Finance Committees of which the Honorable Frank Havener and the Honorable Milo F. Kent are chairmen.

Our mail has been satisfactorily and promptly handled and we congratulate Uncle Sam on having efficient public officers as Postmaster Todd and his assistant, Mr. Lane.

The beautiful floral welcome at the Golden Gate Park was the thought of John McLaren, Superintendent of Parks. We all admired it.

We congratulate Scoutmaster Omar Brown for the up-and-coming scouts who have delivered messages and run errands without number. Most of us had never seen Chinese scouts before. They were good to look upon; so were the ushers from St. Vincent's High School who have so graciously shown us to our seats.

We believe the program of this Conference deserves publicity of the best sort. We wish to thank the press of San Francisco for the space they have given, not only to publicity relating to the Conference, but also to the advance notices.

The Radio Broadcasting stations, KPO, KGO, KJBS, and KFRC have greatly widened the audience of the Conference and we are grateful to them.

We have learned a lot and have had a wonderfully fine time doing it. This is in no small way due to Mrs. M. C. Sloss, the chairman of the Entertainment Committee and the many other groups that cooperated with her in making the Conference pleasant as well as profitable.

We cannot include the names of all who have helped nor can we adequately express our gratitude and thanks. The fifty-sixth annual Conference has been a success. It is another star in the already brilliant crown of San Francisco.

Respectfully submitted,
HARRIET E. ANDERSON
GEORGE S. WILSON
JOEL D. HUNTER, *Chairman*

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the report be adopted. The vote was taken by a unanimous rising vote.

The General Secretary read the list of nominations from the various Divisions for Division officers and Committee members. Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the persons so nominated be elected.

The report of the Committee on Tellers announcing the results of the election for Conference officers being called for, Cheney C. Jones, Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee, presented the following report:

A total of three hundred and thirty-four ballots were cast, one of which was blank so far as choice for President was indicated. The result of the vote is as follows, the officers being declared duly elected: President, Miriam Van Waters; First Vice-President, Karl de Schweinitz; Second Vice-President, Rose J. McHugh; Third Vice-President, Walter W. Whitson; Members of the Executive Committee, Otto F. Bradley; Bradley Buell; Edith N. Burleigh; Margaret E. Rich; Eva Whiting White.

The President of the Conference, Mr. Lee, called the newly-elected President, Miss Van Waters, to the platform and presented her with the official gavel, following which, Miss Van Waters graciously expressed her appreciation for the honor bestowed upon her.

PART IV

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the assistant secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, $5; without the Proceedings, $3; for sustaining members, $10; for institutional members, $25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, $25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing $25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the Next Meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, and six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Division and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to Division Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Division Committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference program, either General Sessions or Divisions. Where such commitments are made for Division programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Division involved or with its hearty cooperation and consent, and for not more than two of the five meetings now allowed each Division.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Divisions.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions as from time to time may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

5. DIVISIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided: (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting and, (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

The representative of an institutional member, who is not himself a member of the Conference, shall have the right of discussion but not of vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work.

9. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. DIVISION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairmen of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the second day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the second day of the Conference.

5. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee. Such nominations shall be received up to 1 P.M. on the third day of the annual meeting.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday. Should the fourth day fall on Sunday, such publication shall be made on the morning of the fifth day.

Ballots shall be supplied to all members who are entitled to vote and who present themselves for voting.

A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference to be open for at least four hours at such times as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired the ballots shall be counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.

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